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# Problems of Socialist Theory

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**СОЦИАЛИЗМ: ВОПРОСЫ ТЕОРИИ**  
*На английском языке*

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We take our stand entirely on the Marxist theoretical position: Marxism was the first to transform socialism from a utopia into a science, to lay a firm foundation for this science, and to indicate the path that must be followed in further developing and elaborating it in all its parts.

V. I. LENIN

*(Collected Works, Vol. 4, p. 210)*

There is no trace of an attempt on Marx's part to make up a utopia, to indulge in idle guess-work about what cannot be known. Marx treated the question of communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development of, say, a new biological variety, once he knew that it had originated in such and such a way and was changing in such and such a definite direction.

V. I. LENIN

*(Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 458)*

## PREFACE

It is easier for the reader than the author to judge a book's worth. He does not possess the emotional involvement that inhibits him from rejecting the author's long-nurtured notions and applauding what, from the author's viewpoint, is inconsequential.

It is easy to say why the book was written. In an age of rivalry between two systems and ideologies many young people have to make a paramount political choice. Some may say that one's choice is determined by the society and milieu in which one lives, studies and works. There is an element of truth in that, since we are all creatures of the class or major social group to which we belong. Yet it does not apply automatically to every individual.

It is hardly surprising in our complex age that some people should lose their bearings and take the wrong road. Social change occurs at a frenetic pace as mankind is in transition from capitalism to socialism; moribund forces in society vainly flaunt their synthetic wealth to stave off inevitable change; they urge the public to join the "rat race" and "keep up with the Joneses"; schools of petty-bourgeois socialism proliferate, each as impotent as it is pretentious; people's frustrations mount because of the widespread ethic of "living for today" at the same time as they have to perform boring, monotonous, repetitive and difficult jobs; the amount of information has burgeoned and the man in the street finds it hard to unravel the intricacies of modern life; the rhythm of private and public life is all the while increasing.

It is impossible not to be involved in the turbulent stream of social and political affairs. To avoid being swept along with the tide one has consciously to face and resolve the harsh alternative: either to accept the system of private enterprise and exploitation, or to opt for the collectivistic socialist system of labour with dignity. To evade the choice one risks tragic consequences and may find oneself unwittingly baying with an artfully disguised reactionary pack.

Particularly when they are dealing with an ardent young audience, these reactionaries are less inclined these days to make a direct assault on the new society. There are even times when they make a big show of being "socialists", though they hasten to qualify or mollify the concept. A trusting audience of well-meaning but not far-seeing socialist supporters may well accept this formula without realising that it is the bogus design of bourgeois politicians using their "socialism" for counter-revolutionary purposes.

I firmly believe we have to counteract the attempts by our enemies to distort socialism by expounding the exact and authentic views of scientific socialism. A young person who is just forming his views on life should learn the principles of scientific socialism in the language of its originators, in the terms of classical Marxism. The more successfully we are able to combat false notions of communism, the more vigorously will the younger generation join the socialist cause.

\* \* \*

The word "socialism" generally designates three social phenomena:

(a) ideological and political views on a just social system. In their initial utopian state, these notions contained a critique of exploitative societies, on the one hand, and a nebulous programme of an "ideal" human society, on the other. Due to the contributions of Marx and Engels, these notions gradually gave way to a scientific socialist theory;

(b) a social and political popular-liberation movement of classes and organisations pursuing avowed socialist aims which have found their most consistent and successful

embodiment in the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat headed by Marxist-Leninist communist parties;

(c) a social system or system of social relations that arose as a result of the overthrow of capitalism and private ownership of the means of production and as a result of the implementation of class interests by the industrial workers backed in their struggle by all working people. Such a system first came to Russia and is associated with the name of Lenin, the pupil and continuer of the traditions of Marx and Engels.

On the occasion of the Lenin centenary, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published the Theses which contained the following passage: "Socialism, turned by Marx and Engels from utopia into science and enriched by Lenin with new conclusions and discoveries, has been embodied in social practice on a worldwide scale and has become the main revolutionary force of our time."<sup>1</sup>

It is socialism in the above sense that forms the subject matter of this monograph. Space has not permitted more than a brief exposition of some central themes. The author recognises the need systematically to study the vast material accumulated during socialist development and intellectual discussions in many countries. He hopes that the reader will not be deterred by the many quotations intended to popularise some of the lesser-known ideas of the founders of scientific communism.<sup>2</sup>

Socialism has become the aim and philosophy of many millions of people and is spreading its influence throughout the world. This widespread popularity is perfectly natural but its corollary is frequently a superficial acquaintance with its theoretical principles. Any amount of harm may be and has been done to the socialist cause by acceptance of just the form of Marxism and its terminology without any profound appreciation of its creative and revolutionary content. Lenin many times criticised such a demonstrative respect for Marxism without a solid basis. In a reference to the liberal Narodnik Mikhailovsky, Lenin recalls the Les-

<sup>1</sup> *Lenin's Ideas and Cause Are Immortal*, Moscow, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This monograph is based on a paper presented in the autumn of 1966 to the International Relations Section of the World Socialist Economy Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

sing verse "*Wer wird nicht einen Klopstock loben? Doch wird ihn jeden? Nein. Wir wollen weniger erhoben, und flessiger gelesen sein!*" He goes on: "Just so! Mr. Mikhailovsky should praise Marx less and read him more diligently, or, better still, give more serious thought to what he is reading."<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, Mikhailovsky was not the last to merit such a reproach. It would seem from contemporary ideological polemics that bourgeois theoreticians are counting on the gradual fading away of Marxist-Leninist philosophy; they either claim that its salient concepts are outmoded or they revise them arbitrarily, justifying their actions by demagogic references to modern science. In his book *The Life of Lenin*, the American writer Louis Fischer asserts that "words like 'socialism', 'communism' ... are empty bottles into which one person pours poison and another wine; they are not scientific terms, nor are they unchanging terms: they change in time and space".<sup>2</sup>

Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, made reference to such views in a speech in July 1969 in which he explained how they had become a dangerous threat in Czechoslovakia: "Primarily we want to be clear in a Marxist way of where we stand, what we are, what we want and what are our political objectives. First of all we must elucidate the situation within our Party. Some people have so emasculated the word that we do not know any more what they mean by 'socialism'. In their version it is some sort of social-democratic concoction of petty-bourgeois rejection of class attitudes, the creation of all manner of privileged groups, of a journalistic or some other élite, a break with socialist states and a negation of socialist internationalist principles and the leading role of the Party, etc."<sup>3</sup>

I would like to make the point in this preface that Lenin did not "revise" the basic notions of Marx. There are some people who maintain that Lenin's contribution to Marxist theory of socialist revolution and the socialist programme

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 134-135.

<sup>2</sup> L. Fischer, *The Life of Lenin*, New York, 1964, p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> G. Husak, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Pravda Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p. 190 (in Russian).

he proclaimed in April 1917 were actually contrary to Marx. The leaders of the Second International and the Russian Mensheviks criticised the theory and practice of Bolshevism primarily because they alleged it ignored the economic and cultural backwardness of Russia, and the lack of the objective prerequisites for socialism. They propounded the "theory of productive forces" according to which it was futile for the working class to try to seize power in countries which were far from reconstructing their economies in line with large-scale machine production.

Such critics maintain that the approach applied by Leninism is in complete contradiction to that of Marx and Engels. Lenin and his followers were taken to task by such prominent Social-Democrats as Karl Kautsky who branded the Bolsheviks as "dreamers", conspirators and Blanquists who shut their eyes to reality, grossly exaggerated the part played by a small band of ardent revolutionaries, and gave priority to political and subjective factors over economic and objective factors. The first Russian Marxist Georgi Plekhanov who at one time had been with the Bolsheviks but then sided with the Mensheviks and social-chauvinists, went as far as to ascribe "Nietzscheism" to Lenin and his "supermen".

The controversy continued unabated between revolutionaries and opportunists, a conciliatory wing of Marxism. But Lenin turned out to be absolutely correct.

The deep-going roots of the validity of Lenin's ideas can only be understood by explaining the essential difference between the nationalistic approach of the Second International pedants and the Leninist stance which Lenin himself called "truly internationalist".

This polemic is as relevant today as it was then. It reverberates in one form or another in all the theoretical debates of the present time.

## SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

No social system owes as much to international relations for its birth as socialism. Conversely, no other social system has produced such radical changes in international relations. The reason may be found in the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the changing alignment of internal and international social relations.

The fact is that the genesis of all former societies, including the capitalist, took place within the framework of more or less closed social structures. The English, American and French bourgeois revolutions occurred in an environment of hostility from their feudal, semi-feudal and even bourgeois states. The internal progressive forces that were attempting to transform social relations acted on the assumption that conditions were ripe for revolution within a particular country and that they could not seriously rely on assistance from related social forces from other states. The revolutionary potential of classes in each country was *national*, although not to the exclusion of certain international forces. Nonetheless, any international influence was of minor importance. This situation existed as long as mankind was structured in the form of local societies, and as long as—due to the lack of the vital economic prerequisite of a world market—it could not consolidate itself into a world-wide commonwealth.

Capitalism, the first society to become a world-wide system, differed from all previous societies in that its immanent economic laws extended *from internal to international relations* because of the world-wide division of labour and wide-scale trade. The capitalist exploitation of the working class and other sections of the working population within

each country was supplemented by imperialist exploitation of backward peoples, "... developed capitalism, in bringing closer together nations that have already been fully drawn into commercial intercourse, and causing them to intermingle to an increasing degree, brings the antagonism between internationally united capital and the international working-class movement into the forefront."<sup>1</sup>

The internal and international social relations came to acquire a social homogeneity and became so intertwined that the abolition of exploitation in one country was bound to encroach upon exploitative relations throughout the world. Lenin wrote that "from the point of view of Marxism, in discussing imperialism it is absurd to restrict oneself to conditions in one country alone, since all capitalist countries are closely bound together".<sup>2</sup>

Having ensured that its avowed principles of profit had universally penetrated all spheres of social relations, capitalism was faced with the prospect of any *local* reverse turning into a fact of *international* importance. Any victim of capital who tries to escape the web of capitalist exploitative relations and imperialist dependence is now unable to break the web without causing shock waves and damage in many other places.

The revolutionary possibilities confronting the working class, the peasants, the middle class, the intellectuals and national-democratic forces in each country, and the content, scale and tempo of social change in a country have become *international* factors. Any revolutionary success of any people, therefore, immediately has an international resonance and shakes the system of internal and international relations, while, at the same time, the revolutionary potential of individual countries ineluctably links up with the revolutionary potential of other peoples, and the power of example of the world socialist system multiplies it manifold.

Just as it is impossible to imagine the highest stage of capitalism by describing only the production of surplus value within individual states and by ignoring the sources

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 238.

of profit in international economic relations, it is impossible also to provide any exhaustive description of the conditions necessary for the emergence of progressive social systems in any one country by referring only to its internal economic, cultural and human resources. While a narrowly national treatment of revolutions sometimes led to major mistakes when capitalism was emerging, it is simply absurd at a time when capitalism is changing to socialism on a world scale. Considerations of revolutionary struggle on the basis only of one's own forces are invalid, if only because they have to rule out the possibility of socialism being built in countries where capitalism is weakly or only moderately developed; they also exclude the possibility of patriarchal and feudal societies changing to socialism, bypassing capitalism, through an alliance of their progressive leading forces with socialist states. Such an approach would be tantamount to ignoring half a century of social development on the basis of public ownership in countries at very different levels of social and economic development on the European, Asian and American continents, and the experience of hundreds of millions of people.

In order to understand the whole significance of the new correlation of internal and international relations, let us look more closely at the history of Leninism.

We have already seen that the main bone of contention between the Bolsheviks led by Lenin and the leaders of the Second International on the possibility of socialist revolution was the recognition by the former and the rejection by the latter of the possibility of a socialist revolution being implemented by the Russian working class—which constituted a minority of the population. The Russian Mensheviks interpreted Marx dogmatically and continually reiterated that Russia was not industrial and cultural enough to commence at once the transition to socialism. Lenin, certainly, did not ignore the social and economic backwardness of Russia; he admitted that large-scale production was the only possible material basis of socialism. Moreover, he stated quite categorically that nobody could consider himself a Communist if he forgot this Marxist axiom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 408.



Where then is the crux of the controversy with the Mensheviks? Where is the new factor which gave the Bolsheviks reason to believe that they could break out of the imperialist system and begin building socialism in a country that was not a developed capitalist system? It was not only a matter of the tremendous power, scope and organisation of the working-class movement, the presence of a Marxist-Leninist party, an alliance of the working class and the poor peasants, and other subjective and political factors. Without a doubt, they were important. But where is that vital and fundamental principle—those forces of production which enabled them to begin the transition to a new social system?

They exist, Lenin maintained, but it is not absolutely necessary that *they should all* be present at a given moment in a country making the transition to socialism. Of course, that country must have a certain minimum development of capitalism. *The fusion of internal with international relations in the imperialist era changes the approach to the socialist possibilities for people in revolt.*

In December 1921, Lenin said: "Since large-scale industry exists on a world scale, there can be no doubt that a direct transition to socialism is possible—and nobody will deny this fact.... And if, owing to the backwardness with which we came to the revolution, we have not reached the industrial development we need, are we going to give up, are we going to despair? No. We shall get on with the hard work because the path that we have taken is the right one."<sup>1</sup> The success of socialist changes within national frontiers may *in the initial period* be guaranteed by the condition of world-wide productive forces.

This being so, countries with lower industrial and technological levels than advanced capitalist states can today create relatively high forms of social and political organisation which may be put completely at the service of the working man. Every nation building socialism has to consolidate this achievement by creating *after the revolution* a higher productivity and greater scientific and technological potential than capitalism.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 160.

The merging of the roles of internal and international relations in the affairs of every nation is particularly evident today. While, in the 1950s, imperialism still had the power to export counter-revolution and thereby to reduce or even nullify (as happened in Guatemala) the chances of victorious revolutions in small states, this power is now largely paralysed—as events showed in Hungary and Egypt in 1956, and in Cuba and Czechoslovakia during the 1960s. This applies both to attempts at military intervention and to economic sanctions and blockades, and to attempts at eroding the socialist awareness of nations. When it is united, the socialist camp is able not only to balk the export of counter-revolution, but to compensate for losses incurred by the rupture in traditional economic ties, to proffer the necessary technical, economic and cultural aid, and to exchange social experience.

Furthermore, even the minimum of capitalist development which was necessary, for example, for Russia is no longer required for the transition to socialism. Many peoples who lag by one or two formations can compensate for that by a strict and consistent reliance on a union with states in the world socialist community. The new type of international relations enable some nations to obviate entire systems of internal exploitative social relations, which have already been replaced in several states by relations of co-operation and mutual assistance. As a vehicle for the most advanced forms of social organisation, these international relations are becoming an enzyme of social progress. L. I. Brezhnev said that if one looks at the difficulties of building a new society "by themselves, isolated from the international situation, they may well appear insurmountable. Today, however, the birth and the victory of socialist revolution are taking place at a time when socialism has become the dominant trend in human development."<sup>1</sup>

By virtue of these circumstances, Marxist sociology now takes a new "systems" approach which is based on account for the possible *integration of social relations inside a country and the international relations* in which the country partakes. The contemporary epoch demands such an addition to

<sup>1</sup> *Pravda*, June 28, 1972.

the existing methods of historical and materialist analysis; due account must be taken in all world events of the rivalry of the two systems—socialism and capitalism. It is an essential task of Marxist-Leninist social science to recognise and to study this "systems principle" and to define the parameters of its application.

The communist social and economic system takes shape in relations between individual states as well as within them. The ultimate outcome of this process is a social uniformity of national and international ties, of external and internal social traits, their organic fusion and the consolidation of socialist societies into a communist commonwealth which Marx called "socialised mankind".

We shall see how these preliminary observations facilitate an understanding of problems of socialist theory.

In the course of what follows we shall deal with principles and analytical methods that fully conform to Marxist-Leninist methodology and, at the same time, by no means aspire to be unique or exclusive. Given the limited aim which the author has set himself in this work, these principles and methods may be taken as satisfactory.

Partly by contrast and partly by coincidence, the words come to mind of the French seventeenth-century philosopher René Descartes: "The true Principles by which one may arrive at the highest degree of Wisdom and in which consists the sovereign well-being of human life, are those which I have put in this Book: And two alone are sufficient for that, of which the first is that they should be very clear; and the second is that one can deduce from them everything else; for there are only these two conditions which should be required."<sup>1</sup>

Mankind has in the last third of the twentieth century come a long way from the naïve self-assurance of the Cartesians who at one time represented a progressive trend in the fight against papist obscurantism; but time has not changed the basic principles. Moreover, even if we are considering a grander ultimate objective there is no need for principles other than the two conditions named by Descartes at the present level of knowledge.

<sup>1</sup> R. Descartes, *Les principes de la philosophie*, Paris, 1898, p. 25.

## HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND THE HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY OF SOCIALISM

Among students of socialist society, there are those who believe that the self-sufficing principle of their studies is the fight against what seems to them a one-sided approach. They are fond of talking of socialism as a great variety of features and they prefer a multi-factor analysis in which they themselves often become confused. The impatience and intolerance which they sometimes display are all the sadder when they proclaim themselves to be the only consistent Marxists-Leninists and angrily attack all and sundry whom they consider to be dogmatic.

Marxism-Leninism strives for the fullest possible knowledge of social reality. That does not prevent, however, fighting against eclecticism, a variety of metaphysics masquerading as dialectics. It is characteristic of Marxism-Leninism that the determining factor in its historical study is precisely the same in real history. This factor is *labour*—which produces material and spiritual blessings—the operation of the productive forces. Since, therefore, the genuine principle has been shown, it is not difficult to observe the continuation, having established step by step the entire hierarchy of social phenomena. At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin said: "We educated the party of the proletariat with the aid of the Marxist programme, and the tens of millions of working people in our country must be educated in the same way. We have assembled here as ideological leaders and we must say to the people: 'We educated the proletariat, and in doing so we always took our stand first and foremost on an exact economic analysis'."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 192.

A scholar who takes this path is naturally not infallible; he may err because of his subjective limitations, hasty judgement, or because of the limitations of contemporary knowledge. These mistakes, are, however, of a special kind which sooner or later can and will be put right.

\* \* \*

Let us try the following intellectual experiment. If we base ourselves on the unquestionable premise that socialism is the last link in the development of a given stage of history and, at the same time, the negation of previous social and economic systems,<sup>1</sup> we shall discover how formations essentially differ from one another and how they link together into a continuous chain.

The most widely used criterion of difference in systems is the nature of economic relations, above all relations of ownership and ways of appropriating the means of production. The first question that springs to mind is: how does the working man connect his labour power to the means and objects of his labour?

The idea that the technological process, the process of production and labour itself cannot occur otherwise than by combining the working hands of a person possessing a certain level of knowledge and experience with working tools and raw materials is sufficiently popular to require any special proof. Incidentally, in the period between the decline of primitive society and the socialist revolution, the direct producers are predominantly not the owners of the means of production which they apply during their work. The technological combination of labour power and physical elements of production is a universal and eternal phenomenon, but there may or may not be an economic combination and it continually changes its form.

In primitive society, the technological combination of labour power and means of production coincides with the economic factors. The latter is just as direct as the former,

<sup>1</sup> Marx wrote that "the entire movement of history is, therefore, both its *actual* act of genesis (the birth act of ... empirical existence) and also for its thinking consciousness the *comprehended* and *known* process of its *coming-to-be*". (K. Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Moscow, 1961, p. 102).

i.e., they are inseparable either in empirical activity or in people's minds.

If we designate a person by the letter *P*, the means (or tools) of work by the letter *M*, the object of labour by the letter *O*, then the technological connection between these elements is invariably:

$$P \rightarrow M \rightarrow O$$

A person places between himself and the object of his work an article or a group of articles (the means of his work) as a vehicle for his action in relation to that object.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the economic connection, it naturally takes the person as its starting and finishing point, and may be expressed as follows:

$$\begin{array}{c} M \\ \swarrow \searrow \\ P \quad O \end{array}$$

If we combine the two formulae we have:

$$\begin{array}{c} M \\ \swarrow \searrow \\ P \quad O \end{array}$$

(The arrows represent the direction of labour effort, and the lines—possession of the means of production.)

This triangle which, in a very general way, is valid for all epochs, is in fact broken due to progress in the division of labour and to the class division of society. When the possibility of accumulation occurs within primitive society, it leads to gross economic inequality and relations of dependence which in their first clear-cut form have a slave-owning character. A person (*P*) becomes either a slave (*S*) or a slave-owner (*So*). In the new arrangement the direct worker (slave) is not only deprived of ownership, he is himself the property of someone else (a "talking implement") along with the cattle and other implements. He does not belong to himself like any other material object. His master combines in his hands *S*, *M* and *O*:

$$\begin{array}{c} M \\ \swarrow \searrow \\ So \quad S \end{array}$$

<sup>1</sup> See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1972, pp. 174-75.

The combination of the personal with the material element of production becomes indirect rather than direct (through the owner of both). Labour acquires an undisguisedly coercive character and is subordinate to the arbitrary rule of someone who himself does not work.

Alongside this form the disintegration of primitive groups engenders individual labour in small private (family) farms which, in a microscopic form, repeats the same formula but has a different future. Instead of  $P$  in the clan or tribe we now have  $P$  as an individual owner earning his bread at his own risk:



A major distinguishing feature of the serf economy in its "classical" form is that the property of the feudal lords was primarily land—the major object of labour in agriculture. The enserfment of husbandmen could occur in various ways, but what they all had in common was that a person was always regarded as an appendage of the land on which he lived and managed his farm. By acquiring the land one acquired a worker.

The feudal lord ( $F$ ) needed not simply land, but land that was worked and bringing him an income. This was only possible by allowing the husbandman a certain minimum of farming independence. The labour power of the peasant ( $Pe$ ), as opposed to the slave, was not fully appropriated by the feudal lord or squire. Ownership of the worker was not absolute both because it was enforced indirectly, through owning the land, and because many peasant means of labour, were also outside the direct ownership of the squire. This was an indicator of the bifurcation of serf farming which, once it had developed, brought about its own disintegration. This connection takes the following form:



(The dotted line signifies the incomplete ownership of the peasant by the squire through land and, in turn, by the peasant of land through the squire.) The features of the two

formulae we already know are repeated: first, partly slave-owning:



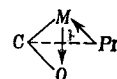
second, the formula for the small private production which is, in elementary abstraction, a non-corrée farming of the serf:



The existence of a worker free from personal dependence and from the means of production was the prerequisite for the capitalist mode of production. Thus we have the capitalist ( $C$ ), the owner of  $M$  (means of labour) and  $O$  (objects of labour):



Here we have reproduced the direct unification of the producer with the means of production, with the exception of one thing—implementation of the technological process. For this to happen we need the free labour power that is available on the market. The proletarian, owner of his hands and brains, here stands opposed to the owner of  $M$  and  $O$ . The capitalist has to buy them for production to commence. From time to time the proletarian ( $Pr$ ) has to renew their sale so as to have a minimum of means of existence:



Although the proletarian, being formally free and independent of a given single capitalist, sells his ability to work only for a period without selling his person to anyone, he is nonetheless bound by the chain of economic dependence to the capitalist class as a whole. Here lies the non-coincidence and striking similarity of the position of the hired worker and that of the slave. Marx put it as follows: "The slave belongs to a certain master; the worker must, it is

true, sell himself to capital, but not to a definite capitalist, and thus within a certain sphere he may choose to whom he will sell himself and may change his masters. All these changed relations make the activity of a free worker more intensive, more continuous, more mobile and more skilful than the activity of a slave, not to mention the fact that they make him the most capable of fulfilling another historic role."<sup>1</sup>

Any comparison of capitalism with slave society is sometimes taken as a purely propagandist exercise. It is unlikely that the people who suffered at the hands of the nazis will soon forget, however, the regeneration of a system of forced and inhuman labour; they include the hundreds of thousands of deported French, Serbs, Czechs, Poles, Russians and Ukrainians. The preservation of slave labour in former and existing colonies is also well known.

It may be objected that these examples are uncharacteristic of developed capitalist states. And this is true. These countries have considerably surpassed many others both in their level of production and culture and in the material welfare of the employed population. At the same time, even the privileged workers who own shares in capitalist firms, nonetheless, retain the status of hired slaves.

The last statement naturally appears paradoxical. It lumps together disenfranchised people, those living below subsistence level and the shareholders. But there is a simple explanation of the paradox. First, the class status of these workers does not change qualitatively: the dividend which they receive as shareholders serves only to supplement their wages and does not obviate the need for them to sell their labour power. Second, having begun to receive albeit a small income, the worker is gripped by the false consciousness that he is the "boss" of the enterprise and is, therefore, less likely to cause trouble; he is more likely to come to terms with the entrepreneurs and is markedly more pliant. Third, the worker improves his attitude to work. Fourth, he associates his personal plans with the fate of the enterprise. All this results in an erosion of class-consciousness

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx, F. Engels, *Archives*, Vol. II (VII), Moscow, 1933, p. 115 (in Russian).

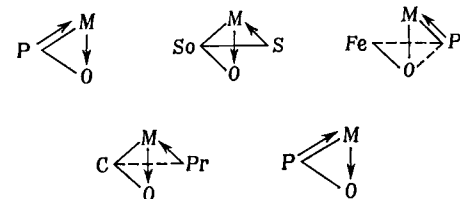
and a loss of clear understanding of the oppositeness of the class interest of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The state of being bound to the capitalist class as a whole is reinforced by the semi-voluntary establishment of *personal dependence* on large shareholders. The similarity with previous antagonistic societies increases if we also consider the growing possibilities which *tie the worker to his workplace*. All this means that in many cases a worker sells his labour power to a given company for an indefinite period.

On the basis of the postulated principles of analysis and referring further to socialism and communism, one may say that the following direct connection between the worker and the means of production is typical:



This formula, however, applies to primitive-communal society, to private individual economy and to both phases of communist society. We find ourselves in a methodological impasse, insofar as we are faced with only inoperable abstract formulae. It is clear that their specific usefulness can only be found with a different approach.

If we place together all the formulae so far constructed we have the following picture:



We now have a group whose separate elements seem to have various types of interrelations. History seems to be playing a game with all manner of permutations of the same subjects within the bounds determined by their properties. Why in a given period should one permutation be played and not another? We have no answer to that question. Consequently, an objective justification for the whole historical development is feeble. In other words, it does not seem to

be a natural historical process. It is, in particular, incomprehensible why mankind should lose the formula



although it will eventually return to it in communist society. Our intellectual experiment is obviously limited and its framework too narrow to help us move on in our investigation.

\* \* \*

Let us return to history. At the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin summed up debates in the Party on the replacement of the requisitioning of grain by a food tax, i.e., the replacement of the War Communism policy by the New Economic policy; he said that all objections to this new policy ultimately came down to a single question:

"Who will gain most by this—the petty bourgeoisie, which is economically hostile to communism, or large-scale industry, which is the basis of the transition to socialism and—in the light of the state of the productive forces, that is, the touchstone of social development—is the basis of socialist economic organisation, for it unites the advanced industrial workers, the class which is exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat?"<sup>1</sup>

In applying this criterion, Lenin sometimes put forward ideas which were at first taken as contradicting the theoretical premises and practice of the Bolsheviks, yet in fact represented a new stage in socialist thought. It is worth mentioning here, by way of example, the Leninist thesis of using by the proletarian dictatorship of state capitalism against petty commodity and private capitalist elements in the interests of building socialism. Lenin wrote in 1918: "When the working class has learned how to defend the state system against the anarchy of small ownership, when it has learned to organise large-scale production on a national scale, along state capitalist lines, it will hold, if I may

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 235.

use the expression, all the trump cards, and the consolidation of socialism will be assured.

"In the first place, *economically*, state capitalism is immeasurably superior to our present economic system.

"In the second place, there is nothing terrible in it for Soviet power, for the Soviet state is a state in which the power of the workers and the poor is assured."<sup>1</sup>

For a relatively long time in reiterating Lenin's critical remarks in relation to Kautsky's "theory of productive forces", some experts on socialist theory, nonetheless, avoided applying the criteria of the state of the productive forces in evaluating the level of development of socialist society. No one doubted that industry and, above all, heavy industry was the main root of socialism. Yet they did not systematically and consistently define all the consequences of its development, its influence on the most diverse sectors of social relations—from technology to consumer services, nor did they undertake to deduce from this the trends in the evolution of the social and political structure of society, in the forms of management and democracy, or establish the degree of the proximity of Soviet society to communism.

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 discredited politically the demand (in relation to the beginning of the socialist revolution) for a maximum level of the productive forces which, according to Kautsky, prevented the proletariat of all countries (where the level had not yet been reached) from taking power into its own hands. It did not imply a rejection of the Marxist principle that both evolution and revolution were ultimately dragooned into existence by the development of the technology of production. This principle operates with particular force as the revolution continues: as socialism is being built and as the new system matures, when, according to Lenin, politics begin to take a subordinate position in relation to economics.

While Lenin could refer to pre-revolutionary Russia as a country in which "we can do nothing without a certain level of capitalism",<sup>2</sup> he referred to post-revolutionary Russia in terms of the need to create a productive potential

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, pp. 338-39.

<sup>2</sup> *Lenin Miscellany XI*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, p. 397 (in Russian).

according to the latest scientific methods, that was capable of securing a level of productivity higher than that under capitalism. Lenin thought that the maximum which Kautsky believed to be a prerequisite of revolution could be attained under the new power which had limited itself to the minimum at the moment it took power.

Lenin wrote: "Civilisation is necessary for the building of socialism.... But why could we not first create such prerequisites of civilisation in our country as the expulsion of the landowners and the Russian capitalists, and then start moving towards socialism?"

"If a definite level of culture is required for the building of socialism (although nobody can say just what that definite 'level of culture' is, for it differs in every West European country), why cannot we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and *then*, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations?"<sup>1</sup>

Some writers are inclined to hasten to the conclusion that Lenin departed both from Marxism and from his own earlier ideas of socialism as a system which, having destroyed the former exploiting productive relations, should retain the mechanism of organised large-scale capitalist machine production. It is nothing more than the reaction of the disappearing small-scale producer and the intellectual, often unaware through his anarchism of his petty-bourgeois mind, to ascribe to Lenin simultaneously the idea of "co-operative" and "market" socialism (usually associated with Dühring) and economic pluralism.

One or another specific aspect in its emergence is given out as the eternal truth of Lenin's concept of socialist society. They usually try to ascribe to the essence of socialism what actually belongs to a merely transitional and far from higher form. For example, they refer to periods when it completes resolving tasks which were left over from the capitalist epoch. One sees here the mark of narrow-minded empiricism which likes to parade its limitations as something universal.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 480, 478-79.

It is principally wrong not to differentiate between Marx and his teachings on the one hand, and previous socialists and their views on the other, to which Lenin referred in his criticism of "the subjective sociology" of the Narodniks. Pre-Marxian socialists considered it sufficient to indicate the oppression of the people in an exploiting system and the superiority of a system in which each person would appropriate the products of his labour and which would correspond to human nature, the ideal of sensible and moral life. Lenin wrote: "Marx found it impossible to content himself with such a socialism.... In just the same way he did not find it possible to content himself with asserting that only the socialist system harmonises with human nature, as was claimed by the great utopian socialists and by their wretched imitators, the subjective sociologists. By this same *objective* analysis of the capitalist system, he proved the *necessity* of its transformation into the socialist system".<sup>1</sup>

The hypothesis of historical development expounded by Marx in *Capital* "for the first time made a *scientific* sociology possible", because "only the reduction of social relations to production relations and of the latter to the level of the productive forces, provided a firm basis for the conception that the development of formations of society is a process of natural history."<sup>2</sup> Marx explained the structure and development of the capitalist system "exclusively by relations of production" and, at the same time, traced the superstructural phenomena corresponding to them. The results of Marx's analysis turned historical materialism from a hypothesis into a "scientifically tested theory".

For Lenin "it is quite natural that the necessity for such a method extends to other social formations, even though they have not been subjected to special factual investigation and detailed analysis—just as the idea of transformism, which has been proved in relation to quite a large number of facts, is extended to the whole realm of biology, even though it has not yet been possible to establish with precision the fact of their transformation for certain species of animals and plants. And just as transformism does not at

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 157-58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

all claim to explain the 'whole' history of the formation of species, but only to place the methods of this explanation on a scientific basis, so materialism in history has never claimed to explain everything, but merely to indicate the 'only scientific', to use Marx's expression (*Capital*), method of explaining history."<sup>1</sup>

For the purposes of our exposition, the idea of "transformism" in history is particularly valuable. If we add it to the process of socialist construction in conditions of "the reduction of social relations to production relations, and of the latter to the level of the productive forces"<sup>2</sup>, we have the only realistic, true and specific concept of the stages of development of socialist society as a social organism. This idea has already been tried sufficiently in regard to bourgeois society and it is expressed in the idea of the primitive accumulation of capital, of the manufacture and the industrial, the pre-monopoly and monopoly stages of capitalist production, of state-monopoly capitalism. It is now the turn of socialism.

A few decades of development of the new system provide enough material to see historical development of socialist society over a period of time as a chain of social structures which grow out of one another and are constantly improving on the single basis of collective ownership and working class power; or, to put it another way, as the emergence of a single organism that is progressing by stages from being a child, a sibling and a youth. Within the framework of the world socialist system this process may be observed at one and the same time in the socialist societies that exist alongside one another and co-operate with one another; they differ both in profoundly national characteristics and in the level of historical development, passing through different stages in building the new society and representing different degrees of approach to communism.

Before we apply the only existing scientific way of explaining history, according to Marx and Lenin, it is appropriate to recall the manner in which Marx formulated his subject.

In *Capital* Marx wrote that "the use and fabrication of

<sup>1</sup> Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

instruments of labour, although existing in the germ among certain species of animals, is specifically characteristic of the human labour-process, and Franklin therefore defines man as a tool-making animal. Relics of bygone instruments of labour possess the same importance for the investigation of extinct economic forms of society, as do fossil bones for the determination of extinct species of animals. It is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs. Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained, but they are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on: Among the instruments of labour, those of a mechanical nature, which, taken as a whole, we may call the bone and muscles of production, offer much more decided characteristics of a given epoch of production, than those which, like pipes, tubs, baskets, jars, &c., serve only to hold the materials for labour, which latter class, we may in a general way, call the vascular system of production. The latter first begins to play an important part in the chemical industries."<sup>1</sup>

Having taken as our starting point "the bone and muscle of production", we cannot begin our analysis without having first decided *how and in what facets* the various means of labour will be manifest. The lack of an answer to that question has prevented a number of writers from crossing the bridge from technology to social relations, and has made, in their eyes, the thesis concerning the primacy of the development of the forces of production in the social process as some sort of inexplicable divine "spark of life". The consequent conclusion that social relations are divorced from their prime material basis is a major, although remote, pre-condition for making subjectivist errors.

From a purely practical point of view, even from a common-sense viewpoint, which here coincides with science, the means or the tool of labour is significant for human beings in three respects:

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1972, pp. 175-76.



*First*, in the sense of the nature of its application, the conditions of a purely professional manipulation of it by whoever implements the labour process. On this basis tools may be divided into two categories—tools of *individual* use and tools of *collective* use. The first category, whether they be an axe, a chisel, a hammer, a bow, a hoe or a spade, presupposes by purely external and physical properties the possibility of adding to them the labour power of a single person; this is a tool of *manual* labour which predominates at the pre-machine stages of production. Here lies the principal reason for the *disassociation* of working men from the very beginning in the technological process. The prevalence of such tools and types of activity associated with them bears witness to the low development of the division of labour in society and the isolation of individual producers.

Tools of collective use are a sure sign that direct muscle effort is being replaced by the power of domesticated animals and controlled natural forces (water, wind, steam and electricity) and, depending on progress in discovering and mastering power sources, gradually do away with manual labour. From the very simple forms, like the battering machine, to up-to-date automatic flow lines, these tools are links connecting individuals with the single technological process.

The part they play is most manifest in industrial production which is taking shape under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution of the twentieth century.

*Secondly*, the tools of labour differ from one another according to their productivity which is objectively determined by their properties. No matter how skilful a craftsman may be who applies them, the limits to his potential are always set by the technology applied. From this viewpoint tools once again can either strictly determine the need for common activity and the joining together of people in clans, or permit labour in isolation and the possibility of a person securing the means of existence outside the organised group and from an individual economy. On that basis all means of labour, naturally, fall into those requiring a *collective* organisation of labour and *individual* means

of labour. Such a classification has several important characteristics.

One characteristic is that there is only a semblance of coincidence with the previous classification of tools according to nature of use. Tools of individual use made of stone, bone or wood were so unproductive that they were only effective when people came together in large groups. If we put aside the mystification and romantic descriptions about the primitive group, its power was based on the weakness of individuals and families that had at their disposal only primitive means of labour. The transition to the smelting of metals—first bronze and then iron—and to their use as the basic material of tools undermined the foundations of the communal life and paved the way for its inevitable demise. Metal tools remained tools of individual use and, at the same time, guaranteed higher productivity and extended the limits of individual talents. That is why they were able to serve as the basis of an individual rather than a collective organisation of labour.

The second characteristic of the above-mentioned classification is that only a group of tools whose productivity makes it possible to have an economy separate from the commune is more or less similar. A small farmer, husbandman or artisan constitutes very stable types of producers whose economy has existed for thousands of years—from the slave-owning system to socialism. Meanwhile, the class of means of labour which presuppose its collective organisation, in turn, consists of two subclasses: collective organisation arises first on the basis of extremely unproductive primitive tools, and the second time is reinforced on the basis of highly productive machine production using modern technology. A similar organisation on diametrically opposed foundations! A negation of the negation, but without a repetition of the form.

*Thirdly*, the tools of labour may be subdivided according to how the worker is associated with them. If he participates on an equal footing with other workers in the ownership of the means of production, we have tools of collective possession, direct appropriation by a labour association of the means, objects and products of labour. On the other hand, if one individual is the owner and another is the work-

er, we have private or individual appropriation and the worker's association with means of labour which cannot be but direct in the technological process is indirect in the economic sense. We, therefore, have two basic classes relatively indifferent to other properties of the tools. It is true that at first glance the harmony of this classification is spoilt because there exists a small individual economy in which the owner works himself with his family without taking on other labour power. In this situation, however, it is clear that the status of the head of the family and that of its members are different in regard to their economic connection with the means of production; this form of production, therefore, historically has a tendency towards becoming a capitalist form, that is to become the second of the above-mentioned groups.

A fleeting acquaintance with the principles of the classification of "bone and muscle production" may produce merely confusion and judgements about the poverty of the abstractions at which we have arrived. But one should not make hasty final conclusions. The general abstract concepts are rather like standard constructions from which we may produce diverse combinations.

If we turn to the sources of human history, we find there labour that is individual ( $I$ ) by the nature of the utilisation of tools, collective (or common) due to low productivity ( $C$ ) and collective by the nature of appropriation ( $C$ ): The formula for primitive society  $I-C-C$  is inherently contradictory in that *collectivity is not being stimulated by the collective nature of the technological process and, as experience shows, is inevitably destined to fade away.*

Its decomposition may take two forms. The first leads to the organisation of labour and a form of ownership in accordance with the individual nature of the use of tools; this produces a small owner to whom we have already referred several times:  $I-I-I$ .

The second belongs to the slave-owning economy which invariably follows from the commune, and which has an individual method of using tools, and a collective organisation of labour due to low productivity, but changes the mode of appropriation which becomes private or individual:  $I-C-I$ .

The same formula retains its validity in the feudal economy. Apart from corvée labour on manorial lands, however, the peasant appears to be virtually free on his own land, according to the formula:  $I-I-I$ , so that overall the formula of feudalism consists of two halves:  $(I-C-I)-(I-I-I)$ , and this duality, as we have mentioned already, destroys it.

Capitalism is the forerunner of a new system that is basically different. This is apparent because *for the first time in history it secures the mass reconstruction of social labour on a machine foundation—on the basis of tools that permit only collective use.*

It is precisely under capitalism that the contradiction is glaringly apparent between the collectively exploited means of labour and its collective organisation, on the one hand, and the individual appropriation of the means of objects of labour and its results, on the other ( $C-C-I$ ).

In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels wrote that "our investigation hitherto started from the instruments of production, and it has already shown that private property was a necessity for certain industrial stages. In *industrie extractive* private property still coincides with labour; in small industry and all agriculture up till now property is the necessary consequence of the existing instruments of production; in big industry the contradiction between the instrument of production and private property appears for the first time and is the product of big industry; moreover, big industry must be highly developed to produce this contradiction. And thus only with big industry does the abolition of private property become possible."<sup>1</sup> This gives us the formula  $C-C-C$ . In other words, *once collectivity begins to permeate the technological application of means of labour, all the means of production should become common property.* That dynamic law is just as necessary as the progress of technology and cognition which inevitably prepares the way for the communist future.

Now we have the following formulae (the symbols are presented vertically):

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 82-83.

I	IIa	IIb	III	IV	V
I C C	I I I	I C I	I I C + I I I	C C I	C C C
primitive- communal society	small pri- vate produc- tion	slave-owning society	feudal- ism	capital- ism	socialism- communism

By contrast to the formulae drawn earlier when we took into account only the economic structure of the forces of production and ignored their technical characteristics, these new formulae contain specific differences for each of the social formations and provide a symbolic "description" of the main trend in historical development. Again we see taking place what we have already observed: history plays out all the combinations, exhausting all the possibilities presented in them, and then, on the basis of the accumulated wealth of material and spiritual culture, performs a qualitative leap forming an essentially new material and technological basis of social progress. "Within the bounds of the whole planet," writes G. N. Volkov, "communism becomes not only a social, political and economic requirement, but also a *technological need of our epoch*."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. N. Volkov, *The Sociology of Science*, Moscow, 1968, p. 323 (in Russian).

## III

SOCIALISM: ESSENTIAL  
AND MANIFEST FEATURES

The new social structure that replaces capitalism was described by the founders of scientific communism as emanating exclusively from the economic law of the development of capitalist society itself. According to Lenin, the inevitable arrival of socialism, whose distinguishing characteristic is that the means of production change from being privately owned to commonly owned, is the natural culmination of the process of technological and organisational socialisation of industrial labour which takes place in capitalist countries in a thousand forms.

The development of large-scale production, on the one hand, increasingly demonstrates the redundancy of the bourgeoisie (and all exploiting classes for that matter), which replaces itself in the production process by a stratum of hired managers. On the other hand, it leads to a growth in the number and skill of the working class, to the inclusion in its composition of ever new groups of people of physical and mental labour. A situation objectively occurs where the working class "economically dominates the centre and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism, ... expresses economically and politically the real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people".<sup>1</sup> It, therefore, follows that the working class can and must take over the organisation of production and, together with that, the organisation of all social life. Being "the intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor of this trans-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 274.

formation"<sup>1</sup> the proletariat implements this in a fierce class struggle with the bourgeoisie, attracting to its side the many millions of exploited people and gaining political power.

Lenin indicated precisely the aim and the essence of socialism: "the transfer of the land, factories, etc., in general, of all the means of production, to the ownership of the whole of society and the replacement of the capitalist mode of production by production according to a common plan in the interests of all members of society...."<sup>2</sup> He considered the formula provided by Plekhanov, "...the planned organisation of the social process of production so as to satisfy the needs of society as a whole, as well as its individual members'",<sup>3</sup> as unfeasible. "That is not enough", he said. "Organisation of that kind will, perhaps, be provided even by the trusts."<sup>4</sup> Lenin goes on to say: "It would be more definite to say 'by society as a whole' (for this covers planning and indicates who is responsible for that planning), and not merely to satisfy the needs of its members, but with the object of ensuring *full* well-being and free, *all-round* development for *all* the members of society."<sup>5</sup> In Lenin's work socialism is portrayed as a system of social relations which is consciously optimised in accordance with cognised laws of development of society, with resources which the given society possesses and with which it, therefore, aims to satisfy the mounting material and spiritual requirements of the populace.

Soon after the October Revolution, Lenin said: "Socialism is the society that grows directly out of capitalism, it is the first form of the new society. Communism is a higher form of society, and can only develop when socialism has

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> It is relevant to remember in this connection that in his notes on the first draft programme of Plekhanov, Lenin was against the vulgar notion that the proletariat owned nothing but his labour power: "The proletariat possesses certain articles of consumption (and partly means of production too)". (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 19.)

<sup>5</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54.

become firmly established. Socialism implies work without the aid of the capitalists, socialised labour with strict accounting, control and supervision by the organised vanguard, the advanced section of the working people; the measure of labour and remuneration for it must be fixed."<sup>1</sup>

Lenin imagined socialism as an integral, live and developing organism. In his words, "infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all, whereas in reality *only* socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life".<sup>2</sup>

Like Marx, Lenin viewed the birth of the new society out of the old as a natural historical process which, after the socialist revolution, acquired a vital new characteristic: it was no longer spontaneous, but began increasingly to be determined by the scientifically organised and purposefully directed activity of the people. In consistently applying the Marxist materialist dialectics, Lenin treated the evolution of the socialist system as a natural scientist would treat the development of a new biological species. Following in Marx's footsteps, "instead of scholastically invented, 'concocted' definitions and fruitless disputes over words (What is socialism? What is communism?)" he demanded "an objective analysis of what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism".<sup>3</sup>

When Lenin compared the social state of a country during the proletarian dictatorship with "metal that is being melted to prepare a more stable alloy",<sup>4</sup> he defined the principal traits of socialism at the next stage of its maturity and directly preceding the communist stage: to underpin all economic sectors with an up-to-date technological base and to turn agricultural labour into a form of industrial labour;

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. 25, p. 472.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. 25, p. 471. Cf. Engels' words: "The so-called 'socialist society' is not anything immutable. Like all other social formations, it should be conceived in a state of constant flux and change." (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, p. 485.)

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 218.

to outdo capitalism in labour productivity first using similar equipment and then on the scale of the whole of the economy; to adapt flexibly the work of all institutions of working people "in the way that large-scale machine industry should work"...<sup>1</sup>, to secure a standard of satisfaction of spiritual, cultural and social as well as of material and physical requirements of the people as a whole and of each individual that is higher than that achieved by capitalism.

Lenin foresaw that progress towards this stage would take a long time; he maintained that "even the more developed generation of the immediate future will hardly achieve the complete transition to socialism".<sup>2</sup> This transition became the purpose of the everyday activity of the generations of people born under Soviet power and the peoples of the socialist states who are tackling the contemporary scientific and technological revolution and are building the material and technological base of communism.

Socialism did not spring ready armed from capitalism like Athene from the head of Zeus. Therefore, it would be merely an abstract comparison of capitalism and socialism to use for the latter's description only the formula—the collective technology of labour, its collective organisation and collective appropriation ( $C-C-C$ ) without supplementing and specifying this in any way, without being absolutely clear about the forms and stages of transition from one to the other. Lenin wrote that "the teachers of socialism spoke of a whole period of transition from capitalism to socialism and emphasised the 'prolonged birth-pangs' of the new society. And this new society is again an abstraction which can come into being only bypassing through a series of varied, imperfect concrete attempts to create this or that socialist state."<sup>3</sup>

Suffice it to say that when it established the dictatorship of the working class, no socialist state had the first  $C$ , normally conditioned by the machine nature of labour, which held undivided sway, and in the majority of cases it was not even dominant. That meant that the socialist system began to develop with a technology that corresponded to it

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341.

only in a few branches of the economy, while elsewhere a technology existed which largely corresponded to private-ownership relations.

The Russian economy immediately after the Revolution constituted a mosaic consisting of five forms of economic structure: a) the patriarchal, i.e., to a large extent a peasant natural economy; b) a petty commodity production (that included the majority of peasants who sold their grain); c) private economy of capitalism; d) state capitalism; and e) a socialist economy. The productive forces, the technology and organisation of production which were being prepared for socialist public ownership were, apart from the fifth category, in the fourth and, to a relatively minor degree, in the third categories. The third was largely, and the first and second wholly, based on means of labour of individual use, i.e., all three used manual labour rather than machine labour, and they predominated throughout the country.

We, therefore, have the following types:

1.  $C-C-C$  (nationalised industry);
2.  $I-C-C$  (state and co-operative socialist economy provisionally served by the technology of manual labour);
3.  $C-C-I$  (state-capitalist and partly private capitalist enterprises);
4.  $I-C-I$  (private capitalist enterprises and rich farmer economy);
5.  $I-I-I$  (a peasant economy without hired agricultural labourers).

In these circumstances the first and second forms existed at the same socialist enterprises, and the third and fourth forms existed at the same capitalist undertakings. Such was the typical picture of the transitional period. The dictatorship of the working class was the only possible political structure then. Economically, it meant the spreading in the economy of the form  $C-C-C$  and the exclusion of all the other enumerated forms from all sectors. The degree of proximity to a solution of this task serves as an objective criterion of the extent of the socialist maturity of society.

Lenin wrote: "The most difficult task in the sharp turns and changes of social life is that of taking due account of the peculiar features of each transition. How socialists should fight within a capitalist society is not a difficult problem

and has long since been settled. Nor is it difficult to visualise advanced socialist society. This problem has also been settled. But the most difficult task of all is how, in practice, to effect the transition from the old, customary, familiar capitalism to the new socialism, as yet unborn and without any firm foundations. At best this transition will take many years, in the course of which our policy will be divided into a number of even smaller stages. And the whole difficulty of the task which falls to our lot, the whole difficulty of politics and the art of politics, lies in the ability to take into account the specific tasks of each of these transitions."<sup>1</sup>

Two axioms are especially important to us from this Leninist judgement.

The *first* axiom is that it is easy to imagine a developed socialist society (for those who today make out that they do not recognise its characteristics, let us note that Lenin was speaking about this at the first session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on February 2, 1920).

The *second* axiom is that the whole problem is that one must consider the distinguishing features of each stage, primarily the present stage, i.e., the stage of transition to mature socialism.

It is my belief that reference to the first axiom is relevant simply because notions of mature socialist society, which were given by contemporaries of Lenin without special difficulty, have today received so many versions that it is extremely difficult to see the original notion. The notion has been emasculated by both Left-wing and Right-wing revisionists and representatives of innumerable schools of non-Marxist socialism which have sprung up in the last two decades.

In regard to the second axiom, it is a reference to the need for observing a measure in defining the stage of development that we have reached and its possibilities which cannot either be minimised or exaggerated. Lenin was perfectly clear in his caveat to revolutionaries on possible miscalculations: "We are afraid to look the 'vulgar truth' squarely in the face, and too often yield to 'exalting deception'. We keep repeating that 'we' are passing from capi-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 330-34.

talism to socialism, but do not bother to obtain a distinct picture of the 'we'."<sup>1</sup> The entire experience of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state confirms that socialism urgently needs precise and regular self-analysis and comprehensive self-cognition if only because it is a society run on scientific lines. Self-analysis and self-cognition make it possible both to avoid a subjective setting of unfeasible tasks and to display sufficient boldness in regard to issues whose resolution has objectively matured. Lenin wrote: "Our strength lies in complete clarity and the sober consideration of *all* the existing class magnitudes, both Russian and international; and in the inexhaustible energy, iron resolve and devotion in struggle that arise from this."<sup>2</sup>

The theoretical picture of mature socialism formed by Marx, Engels and Lenin presupposes a number of basically complete social and economic processes. Above all, these include the process of universal machine production and a higher level of cultural and technical qualifications of workers, associated with machine production, the gradual exclusion of unqualified manual labour, the process of the technological and organisational socialisation of the economy and its centralisation.

Given such prerequisites, the period of proletarian dictatorship is of necessity short-lived, for its major and, in essence, its only action would be to transform the means of production from private ownership to collective ownership (as well as the associated measure of arranging a collective accounting and control for measuring labour and supply and introducing individual distribution of products depending on the quantity and quality of invested labour). Engels wrote: "The first act by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state."<sup>3</sup>

This *logical* conclusion, in regard to the establishment of the new formation expresses its *law as such*. In the lifetime of the founders of scientific communism and in the pre-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. 32, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, p. 333.

revolutionary activity of Lenin, it could and should not be otherwise. It was completely borne out by the history of proletarian dictatorship and the initial experience of socialist construction. In the sequences and terms of transformation, however, the experience did not always coincide with the forecast.

Much has been written in the Soviet Union and abroad about this; it has received tendentious treatment as a favourite ploy of anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist and anti-communist propaganda. It is natural that the theoretical forecasting which, while correctly expressing the essence of future events, at the same time should overtake them by a few decades and certain tasks should turn out to be different in practice than they are in theory. That does not mean that the theory and practice of scientific socialism do not coincide. The most obvious refutation of such a negative conclusion lies in the fact that *the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin was intended for a more protracted (and more eventful) stage of popular movement than that which the new society has endured until now.*

Moreover, it is relevant to remember what Marx wrote about the relationship between logical and historical facts in regard to the society in which he lived (and to any other society). In his *Economic Manuscripts of 1857-1858* Marx wrote: "It would be inadmissible and erroneous to take economic categories in the order in which they played a decisive role historically. On the contrary, their order is determined by the relation in which they find one another in contemporary bourgeois society, while this relation is directly opposed to that which seems natural or corresponds to the order of historical development. I refer here not to that situation which economic relations take historically in various social forms that follow one after another. Even less am I talking about their order as 'an idea' (Proudhon), to this distorted notion of historical process. I am referring to their division into parts within contemporary bourgeois society."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (Rohentwurf) 1857-1858, M., 1939, S. 28.

What Marx said did not apply only to capitalism. For example, socialism, as it arose and develops in several states historically, has to resolve those social problems whose resolution is essentially a preliminary condition for its emergence. They include industrialisation, the conversion of agricultural labour into a form of industrial work, electrification in production and in domestic use, the abolition of illiteracy, universal urbanisation and the creation of a large modern communication network. Logically, these are tasks of capitalism; they have generally been resolved in advanced imperialist states.

At the same time, in that part of the world where the pre-revolutionary level of social and economic development was lower than in the West, *socialism is frequently obliged to make up for the deficiencies of capitalism.* The mission of the proletarian dictatorship is thereby considerably complicated and extended; it goes far beyond the bounds of the socialisation of the means of production as forecast by Engels. This does not mean Engels was wrong. His forecast is relevant to the industrial states of Western Europe and North America, insofar as the working class, as a result of the development of state-monopoly capitalism, receives a production apparatus as a result of the revolution which is virtually already formed and adapted for administering a socialised economy. The working people of the West will not have to equalise the levels of economic development of the various regions in their countries nor iron out the many different layers of the economy, nor spend years on overcoming lack of culture and the very great discrepancies between town and country. The history of proletarian dictatorship will here basically coincide with the logic of scientific forecast.

Let us now turn from future socialist revolution to socialism as it arose. Five months after the October Revolution Lenin wrote that Russia was in a situation where a whole number of essential prerequisites existed for the transition from capitalism to socialism: "On the other hand, quite a number of these preconditions are absent in our country, but can be borrowed by it fairly easily from the experience of the neighbouring, far more advanced countries, whom history and international intercourse have long



since placed in close contact with Russia."<sup>1</sup> This dialectical dependence of the fate of the new system both on the domestic and on external conditions confronted a country of moderately developed capitalism that was partly entering its monopoly stage, that had the highest worker concentration in the world at large industrial factories and had a very intensive working-class movement which had acquired experience of class struggle at home and from the West European proletariat.

This situation was even more relevant for China where capitalism was relatively weakly developed, the proletariat comprised only half a per cent of the population and the liberation movement predominantly bore an anti-colonial, anti-feudal and national-democratic character, peasant in its class content. Moreover, while due to the imperialist blockade the Soviet working people had to build socialism mainly on internal resources and, therefore, had to face immense difficulties, while this immense effort of the Russian proletariat in alliance with the poor peasants, nonetheless, brought victory, such an approach was out of the question for China. The reason was that the internal prerequisites for socialism were too weak. The very issue of socialist construction was possible there only by taking into account the probability of relying on the socialist industrial giant—the USSR and the fraternal People's Democracies.

The Maoist leadership nowadays waves the demagogic flag of "relying on their own resources". This idea is utterly erroneous. Its first mistake is that no less than a decade after the 1949 revolution the reliance on external state-organised socialist forces, apart from its own resources, enabled the Chinese People's Republic to build the foundation of the industrial basis of socialism, to attain a modern scientific, technological and cultural potential and to bridge the gap separating them from developed states. They did not then maintain the position of "relying on their own resources". They only did so when they felt that what they had attained due to comprehensive assistance from socialist states was sufficient. Motivated by purely pragmatic ideas, they scorned the interests of international solidarity, tradi-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 71.

tions of socialist co-operation and any memory of it, finding in the slogan "relying on their own resources" a convenient disguise for nationalistic schemes and a breakaway from the world socialist community.

The second error in the notion of "relying on their own resources" is that, in appealing to the popular conscience and advocating a responsible attitude of the nation to building socialism, the concept at the base of the internal and foreign policy of the state can only, in the circumstances of China and states like it, cause socialism to stagnate.

The present policy has not brought China anything worthwhile. It has only isolated her from the socialist world, hampered her economic development, brought succour to imperialism and facilitated her aggressive actions. As the Chinese example illustrates today, the self-isolation of a country from its natural allies can only deform both its foreign policy and its internal situation. Socialism in the Chinese People's Republic can only develop successfully and attain mature forms if its internal conditions are combined, integrated and intertwined with international conditions. What the Peking leadership has at its disposal at the present stage is a gigantic social and economic form of socialism which still has to be filled with industrial, technological, organised, scientific and cultural content. If this is held up for many years, the very existence of that form is threatened, inasmuch as it cannot be maintained forever only and mainly by the support of political factors—such as government, armies and propaganda—while it, naturally, tends to be brought in line with the existing forces of production.

In May 1918, Lenin wrote in his article "Left-Wing' Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality", that "today, only a blind man could fail to see that we have nationalised, confiscated, beaten down and put down more *than we have had time to count*. The difference between socialisation and simple confiscation is that confiscation can be carried out by 'determination' alone, without the ability to calculate and distribute properly, *whereas socialisation cannot be brought about without this ability*".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. 27, p. 334.



Apart from turning the means and objects of labour into public property, two conditions were necessary in Russia to socialise production *in fact* and to introduce socialism: to keep the strictest account and control of production and distribution of products, and to secure higher labour productivity throughout the economy.

The first condition implies that the whole of the economic work and the existing resources of the country would be subordinated to the aim of socialism, that of satisfying human needs. The Chinese leaders' approach is radically different. Non-socialist aims are given out as wanted by the people.

The Chinese leaders formulate the basic line of their policy as follows: "to rally all forces, to strive ahead and build socialism on the principle of more, faster, better and more effective". The "great strategic plan" is "to prepare for the eventuality of war, to prepare for natural disaster, everything for the people". Reference to the people sounds ironical here since everything is reduced to what Marx and Engels a hundred years ago noted in the anarchist Bakunin-Nechayev "programmes": "work hard to consume little!"<sup>1</sup>

It is a matter of subordinating the whole system of militarised account and control to the creation of a powerful military and technological, nuclear-missile potential, a matter of using a form of social appropriation for injecting into the military economy of ever new resources of limiting the sphere of action of the fundamental economic law of socialism for the sake of satisfying the artificially inflated, allegedly social but, in fact, military-caste needs.

In the opinion of many foreign specialists, the successful testing of the first Chinese atom bomb in October 1964 demonstrated that China was intending to concentrate the whole energy of the nation on fulfilling that task. It cannot be excluded that the Chinese leaders, having commenced the production of atomic weapons, have not appreciated the future difficulties. They surely do not even now realise what the atom bomb is taking from the Chinese people

<sup>1</sup> Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 18, S. 426.

although expenditure on its production is evidently known.<sup>1</sup>

The estimated overall cost of the Chinese nuclear programme for 1957-64 is sometimes put at \$ 2,500 million, while current nuclear expenditure is put at \$ 470 million per annum. Some scholars have estimated that investment of such capital into civil spheres could have secured one of the following targets:

- a doubling in the generation of electricity (by comparison with 1963);
- an increase in steel production by 25 per cent;
- a doubling in oil output (by comparison with 1963);
- the satisfaction of the minimum requirement of agriculture for chemical fertilisers which at present has less than a quarter of its requirements. The American expert James V. Barnett has estimated that by spending \$ 2,500 million on the manufacture of the atom bombs and not on the chemical industry, the Peking leaders have doomed millions of Chinese to starvation;
- the creation of a level of paper production which would enable the country to receive \$ 2,500 million every year for its paper exports.

By diverting the economy from the aim of socialist production, i.e., by lending a blatantly irrational character to the account and control over the production and distribution of products, the Chinese leaders are actually blocking the possibilities and advantages of socialism. Experience shows that the problem of higher productivity, which Lenin considered ultimately the principal issue for the new system to be successful, cannot in China be resolved normally. Because the Chinese leaders have infringed upon international socialist solidarity, they have consciously or unconsciously reduced the degree of socialisation, intensified formal elements in it and put socialism at risk. Public ownership which, due to the assistance of socialist states, considerably forestalled the development of its internal basis—the productive forces—has vegetated and been deprived of opportunities for manifesting its lofty social and humane

<sup>1</sup> See J. V. Barnett, "La bombe atomique. Ce qu'elle a coûté à l'agriculture et à l'industrie". En *La documentation française*. Articles et documents. 15 mars 1968, Numéro O. 1895, pp. 21-26.

qualities due to a reduced rate of development. This proves convincingly that it is still impossible to call the country mature socialistically even though the economy is dominated by forms of public ownership.

In the methodological sense the Leninist differentiation between nationalisation and confiscation, on the one hand, and real socialisation, on the other, can be traced back to the Marxist concept of *the formal and real subordination of labour to capital*. It is worth dwelling briefly on this concept bearing in mind that it did not gain scientific currency.

Marx said that "when the peasant who previously produced independently and for himself became a day labourer working as a tenant-farmer; when the hierarchical division which had existed during the shop mode of production gives way to a simple confrontation between the capitalist and the artisans whom he forces to work for himself as hired workers; when the erstwhile slave owner uses his former slaves as hired workers, etc., the processes of production *with different social definitions* become the capitalist process of production".<sup>1</sup> (My italics—R.K.)

These "different social definitions" of labour, naturally, continue to play a part; that is why Marx called this subordination of labour to capital "formal". At the same time, the entering into the capitalist relations levels its participants, turning them into 'counter-agents of the deal for buying and selling labour power, "within the process of production they oppose one another as personified functionaries of the factors of this process, the capitalist as 'capital' and the direct producer as 'labour', and their relationship is determined by the fact that labour (has become) a mere factor of self-increasing capital".<sup>2</sup>

Let us note that in the course of the socialist socialisation of production the victorious proletariat also has to deal with processes of production that have preindustrial and precapitalist social determinants (traits, properties, etc.). Until now socialist revolution, too, has had to deal with all the above-mentioned economic structures which are subordinate to capital only in a formal sense. The more

<sup>1</sup> Marx, Engels, *Archives*, Vol. II, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

complicated the process of their *actual socialisation* turns out to be, the more grounds there are for differentiating between the actual socialisation, on the one hand, and the preliminary approaches to it and the formal and legal measures taken by the new government, on the other.

Marx pointed out that with such a great shift as the subordination of labour to capital there may well not be an essential change in the real mode of the process of labour or the actual process of production straightaway. Just the opposite. It is perfectly possible for capital initially to subordinate to itself the prevalent process of labour, i.e., for example, artisan labour or small-scale peasant farming corresponding to it.

The fact that labour becomes more intensive or labour time increases and that, under the gaze of an interested capitalist it becomes more orderly, by itself does not yet alter the nature of the process of labour or the *actual mode of work*. It is a different matter in the circumstances of a specifically *capitalist mode* (labour on a large scale), which *revolutionises* the mode and real nature of the whole process of work. It is in contrast to this labour transformed by capital that Marx calls the subordination of the mode of production (which had developed before the emergence of the capitalist relation) the last *formal* subordination of labour to capital.<sup>1</sup>

Marx refers to the *scale* on which this labour occurs as one of the distinguishing features of work which is subordinate to capital if only in a formal sense and differs from its previous state. He writes that, "what, for example, on the basis of the workshop mode of production is regarded as the maximum (for example, in relation to the sum total of submasters), can hardly comprise the minimum for the capitalist relation ... this expansion of the *scale* forms the actual basis on which arises the specifically capitalist labour production in other favourable historical circumstances...."<sup>2</sup> It is scarcely necessary to emphasise the importance of the increased scale of social labour for a system which replaces capitalism, that is socialism.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

Marx associates the appearance of the specifically capitalist mode of production with a revolution in technology caused by machine technology: "The common characteristic feature of the *formal subordination* remains, that is, the *direct subordination of the process of labour to capital*, no matter what technological mode existed. On this basis, however, there arises technologically and in other respects a *specific mode of production—the capitalist mode of production—which transforms the actual nature of the process of labour and its actual conditions*. Only with the appearance of the latter does the *actual subordination of labour to capital* take place."<sup>1</sup> He goes on to say that "there develop *social productive forces of labour* and, together with labour on a large scale, there develops the application of science and machinery in direct production. With the actual subordination of labour to capital there takes place a complete (and continually recurring) revolution in the very mode of production, in labour productivity and in relations between the capitalist and the worker".<sup>2</sup>

At this stage appear "*social* productive forces of labour or productive forces of directly *social* or *socialised* labour due to co-operation, division of labour within the workshop, the use of *machinery* and, generally, the conversion of the process of production into the conscious use of natural science, machines, chemistry, etc., for set purposes, *technology*, and so on, just as there arises *production on a large scale* corresponding to all the changes, etc. (only this socialised labour is capable of applying to the *direct* process of production the *universal* products of human development, like mathematics, etc., at the same time as, on the other hand, the development of these sciences presupposes a certain level of the material process of production)...." So we have "the development of the productive force of *socialised labour* more or less opposed to the isolated labour of individuals, etc.; and together with that, the *application of science*, of this *universal* product of social development, to the *direct process of production*...."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marx, Engels, *Archives*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Only such forces of production can form the material and technical basis and a scientific and technological potential from which, after the revolutionary replacement of private by public ownership, the economic foundation of socialist society directly grows. Only such forces of production—after the working people led by the working class have come to power without dallying at the stage of nationalisation and formal-legal socialisation—can be socialised comparatively rapidly. Lenin considered that state capitalism, permitted on certain conditions by the proletarian dictatorship, was incomparably closer to socialism than the small ownership and private capitalist elements, while state-monopoly capitalism was the most complete material preparation for socialism and its precursor.<sup>1</sup>

How then would socialist revolution take place in countries where only conditions have matured on a mass scale for a formal subordination of labour to capital, where the actual subordination had occurred in a small part of the economy? Would not it be better to continue to develop capitalism in order to create the cultural and technological prerequisites for socialism?

The experience of successfully building socialism in the USSR and several People's Democracies provides an unqualified negative answer to the latter question.

The solution lies in nationalising industry and collectivising petty-commodity production] along with the *compulsory* condition of conducting them on a single higher contemporary technological level on the basis of comprehensive electrification and mechanisation of production processes, the universal introduction of a rational organisation of labour and management, and a rapid improvement in the cultural and technological level of workers. We underline the *compulsory* nature of this condition because it is sometimes forgotten or regarded merely as secondary.

The Chinese leaders in the mid-1950s thought that turning the means of production into collective ownership would be enough to bring the transitional period to an end,

<sup>1</sup> See Lenin's "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", "'Left-Wing' Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality" and "On the Food Tax".

to bring the superstructure into line with the basis and go over directly to building communism. The fact that during the 1960s, China gave way to the opposite idea (of extending the stage of socialism with features of the transitional period for decades and even centuries), only goes to show that an important link had dropped out of the theoretical analysis in both cases.

Lenin wrote: "The workers, having grown out of the infancy when they could have been misled by 'Left' phrases or petty-bourgeois loose thinking, are advancing towards socialism ... through the capitalist management of trusts, through gigantic machine industry, through enterprises, which have a turnover of several millions per year—only through such a system of production and such enterprises. ... Socialism is impossible unless it makes use of the achievements of the engineering and culture created by large-scale capitalism.... Only those are worthy of the name of Communists who understand that it is *impossible* to create or introduce socialism *without learning* from the organisers of the trusts. For socialism is not a figment of the imagination, but the assimilation and application by the proletarian vanguard, which has seized power, of what has been created by the trusts."<sup>1</sup>

The only addition to these words of Lenin's which experience has subsequently produced and which would have significance for the Chinese leaders is that they could make use of the experience of socialist management already accumulated in the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, instead of borrowing the experience of the capitalist management of large-scale production. For the rest the problem remains the same. *The party that directs socialisation where forms of labour predominate, which had grown up only before their formal subordination to capital, should display extreme care to see that this socialisation loses its formal character with time.*

The absence of suitable productive forces and culture, the associated problem of an insufficient intensity of social relations do not permit the advantages of socialist owner-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 349, 350.

ship to be demonstrated fully over private ownership. To illustrate this point one may say that the primitive technology of artisan production, which, naturally, does not presuppose an extensive application of science, is too small within the shell of socialist appropriation. Public ownership in this situation means allowing for growth. The most reliable way to consolidate public ownership lies in creating large-scale industrial and scientific and technological potential. Conversely, the quickest way to destroy it is to prevent or even undermine this potential.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union displayed its keen awareness of this issue in the early 1930s when it warned about the danger of exaggerating and canonising the collective farms as a socialist form of farming for which correct management, proper planning and their conversion into model agricultural undertakings had allegedly been guaranteed beforehand.

The collective farm is a socialist form of *economic* organisation just as the Soviets are a socialist form of *political* organisation. Both the collective farms and the Soviets are the supreme attainment of the October Revolution and of the working class. But they represent only a *form* of organisation, it is true, a socialist form, but only a *form* of organisation. Everything depends on the type of *content* which will be given to that form.

Looking at the political aspect from the Leninist point of view, the collective farms, like the Soviets, should be taken as a form of organisation, as a weapon and only as a weapon. That weapon could in certain circumstances be turned against the revolution. The probability of this use of socialisation in both economic and political respects is apparent in present-day China. The lengthy manipulation there of forms of public ownership without them being imbued with a corresponding industrial and cultural content, the manipulation only with the aim of accumulating material resources in interests alien to the people and to socialism is the petty-bourgeois utilisation of forms of socialist economic organisation which has become fact. This fact has to be faced and has to be appreciated, bearing in mind that petty-bourgeois nationalist reaction is eager to become a source of international tension today, alongside imperialism.

A political leader who makes the authoritative statement that "socialist changes in regard to property have basically been completed" should first be asked whether the process of socialisation of the economy really has been completed and whether it has been put at the service of the working people. In regard to China one should bear in mind that the creation of public ownership brought economic relations into accord with the level and nature only of part of the productive forces, precisely those that were created in capitalist machine production. For the rest, socialisation resulted in a lack of accord; the productive forces based on routine technology turned out to be lagging behind, on this occasion not the production and economic relations. Historically, it was precisely these forces that now had to be brought up to the level of the new economic organisation.

When labour is actually subordinate to capital (as in advanced capitalist states), socialisation has a single "*anthological*" direction, i.e., to confirm and consolidate public ownership with all the socio-economic consequences that follow (from a shift in the purpose of production to shifts in cultural policy).

The situation is more complex when labour is both actually and formally subordinated to capital (as in moderately developed capitalist states, like Russia of 1917, and a number of Latin American states today): alongside the direction mentioned above, there exists a *second* trend, when nationalisation serves not as a consequence but a prerequisite for the creation of socialist productive forces.

This last task may not be resolved immediately. A certain period must pass while socialisation that is formal in part of the economy must become real through industrialisation and cultural revolution, and the country will become a completely advanced socialist state.

Finally, if because of its backwardness the country contains a formal subordination of labour to capital or it retains vestiges of pre-capitalist structure that have not had time to grow into a system of capitalist economy, the completion of socialist changes will not necessarily follow from the popular government confirming public ownership. On the contrary, only from that moment can they really develop extensively and in depth. Although the *obvious* transitional period,

associated with the abolition of private property and resolution of the problem of "who will win" in favour of the working people may have ended, the process of socialisation may, nonetheless, continue. Formally subordinate or not yet subordinate labour may be socialised in the initial period only in a formal way. One more stage is necessary before socialist productive forces and culture can enter the frame of socialist ownership. This stage of pre-industrial which becomes industrial, i.e., mature socialism, may be termed "*the hidden transitional period*"—although it is hidden only from Left-wing revisionists.

In recent literature the distinction seems to have been lost between countries that are still tackling the transition from capitalism to socialism and those that have already completed the transition. Both types are called socialist, thereby giving them a political description in regard to their aim and not necessarily their specific state. This phenomenon is hardly explained by the basically correct but inherently unconvincing formula: "The socialism constructed in the Soviet Union on the basis of two forms of public ownership is the typical and classical form of socialism. This socialism is being built in all the People's Democracies. If anyone were to invent a pure socialism and study the laws of its development, they would stand aside from those tasks which our society is presently resolving at the stage of gradual transition from socialism to communism."<sup>1</sup>

At first glance it may appear that such a categorical statement was dictated by harsh demands of life or that a thorough acquaintance with revolutionary practice stands behind it. The situation, alas, is rather different. The fraternal parties, having taken upon themselves responsibility for directing the construction of the new society, of course, borrow much that is useful from each other's experience and cannot discharge their duty properly without correlating their experience. This by no means obviates, rather it underlines, the need ultimately to compare periodically all the specific historical societies building socialism with "pure socialism", with the theoretically anticipated new

<sup>1</sup> *The Law of Value and Its Role Under Socialism*. Moscow, 1959, p. 34 (in Russian).

system in Marx's *Capital* and his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, in Engels' *Anti-Dühring* and in Lenin's *State and Revolution* and in other works of classical Marxism. The statement made at the 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party in November 1968 is particularly deserving of serious attention in this respect: "Paths to socialism not only may be different, they should be different even though there is only one socialism. Its essence lies in the power of the working people led by the working class and also in economic planning of the socialised means of production."<sup>1</sup>

The question of the singular essence of socialism and the inevitable multifarious nature of its emergence is not a new one. It was posed and resolved in the *Programme of the Communist International*: "The international proletarian revolution represents a combination of processes which vary in time and character; purely proletarian revolutions; revolutions of a bourgeois-democratic type which grow into proletarian revolutions; wars for national liberation; colonial revolutions. The *world dictatorship* of the proletariat comes only as the *final result* of the revolutionary process."

"The uneven development of capitalism, which became more accentuated in the period of imperialism, has given rise to a variety of types of capitalism, to different stages of ripeness of capitalism in different countries, and to a variety of specific conditions of the revolutionary process. These circumstances make it historically inevitable that the proletariat will come to power by a majority of ways and degrees of rapidity; that a number of countries must pass through certain transition stages leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and must adopt *varied forms of socialist construction*."<sup>2</sup> In accordance with this statement, the Comintern Programme divided all countries into three main types: countries of highly developed capitalism, countries with a medium development of capitalism and colonial and semi-colonial countries.<sup>3</sup> It is useful to note that on the eve of socialist

<sup>1</sup> 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, Moscow, 1969, p. 314 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> The Programme of the Communist International, London, Modern Books Limited, 1929, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 39-40.

revolutions of the countries that are today part of the world socialist system, only Germany and Czechoslovakia were included in the first group, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Rumania and Yugoslavia were in the second, and Albania, Vietnam, China, Korea, Cuba and Mongolia were in the third. Today, due to the action within the bounds of the socialist community of the law of equalling up the levels of socio-economic, political and cultural developments of individual states, this picture has greatly changed. But it would be wrong to consider all socialist states equally advanced.

In applying universally the same specific historical approach at the new stage of transition from capitalism to socialism, the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes that "the fact that socialist revolutions took place at different times and that the economic and cultural levels of the countries concerned are dissimilar, predetermines the non-simultaneous completion of socialist construction in those countries and their non-simultaneous entry into the period of the full-scale construction of communism".<sup>1</sup>

The first factor taken into consideration when talking of the maturity of socialism in a particular country is the proportion of socialisation of the means of production, or, more precisely, their conversion into public property. It is accepted that the higher this figure is, the nearer society is to resolving the tasks of the transitional period. In this sense, the world socialist system is fairly homogeneous. The private sector in agriculture is still large only in Poland and Yugoslavia.

In view of the fact that the degree of socialism is, as mentioned above, measured not simply by any socialisation but by *actual* socialisation, *another criterion* has great importance, i.e., the level of industrialisation of the country, of its scientific and technological development, the domination of machine labour over manual, with all the consequences that follow.

The socialist states in this sense even by purely economic signs (if, of course, we bear in mind a certain incompleteness of this approach) today belong to *three* main groups:

<sup>1</sup> The Road to Communism, Moscow, p. 579.

— the group with complete socialisation of the means of production and a material and technological base that is adequate for socialism;

— the group of countries with complete socialisation but which have not yet completed the building of the material and technological base of socialism;

— the group of states which in productive capacity are close to the first group but which still lag in relation to the first and second group in the scale of socialisation.

Let us now see how this is reflected in the documents and speeches made by spokesmen of the international communist movement.

The birthplace of socialism, the USSR, continues to consolidate and to improve the new system and is making rapid progress in creating the material and technological basis of communism. This alone shows that the USSR has an *advanced socialist society*<sup>1</sup>—as was pointed out at the meeting to mark the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution (1967), at the Centenary of Lenin's birth (1970) and at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Resolution of the problems of developed socialism in the present period greatly coincides with securing reserves for building communism, which corresponds to an important principle in the Party Programme: "The CPSU being a party of scientific communism proposes and fulfils the task of communist construction in step with the preparation and maturing of the material and spiritual prerequisites, considering that it would be wrong to jump over necessary stages of development, and that it would be equally wrong to halt at an achieved level and thus check progress."<sup>2</sup>

This example is by no means the only one. L. I. Brezhnev, in a speech to the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, said that "the 1960s will occupy a special place in history of world socialism. It was in this decade that many fraternal countries completed the foundations of socialism and went over to the building of developed socialist society. As it matures the socialist sys-

<sup>1</sup> See L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 18, 270; *24th Congress of the CPSU*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 47-48.

<sup>2</sup> *The Road to Communism*, p. 512.

tem more and more fully reveals the advantages of its economic, social and political organisation and its inherent genuine democracy".<sup>1</sup>

The common features of these states are their highly developed industrial and scientific and technological potential that enables them to tackle successfully problems of the contemporary scientific and technological revolution in concert with the socialisation of the major means of production both in industry and in agriculture. They have, typically, an increasing mutual attraction towards international socialist economic integration by which they are laying the initial foundation of the future world communist economy.

How do the ruling parties in this part of the world socialist system define the present period?

*The Bulgarian Communist Party.* Report by T. Zhivkov at the 10th Party Congress in April 1971: "Bulgaria has *embarked upon the building of mature socialism* as a result of the socialist revolution, the successful completion of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the final victory of socialist relations of production—and the quantitative and qualitative changes in the whole system of social life that have occurred. During this period, we shall have to finish building the material and technological basis of socialism, improve socialist relations of production, enrich our spiritual culture, raise the standard of living and gradually overcome unevenness in the development of the social system."<sup>2</sup>

*The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.* Report by J. Kadar at the 10th Party Congress in November 1970: "The social programme of our Party and people in the coming four years must be to *continue to complete the construction of socialism at a higher level*." Explaining this line, Kadar said: "Our state and social system is already socialist by its nature and class relations and by its forms of ownership. The complete construction of socialism in our country, however, is not yet finished. The Party believes that the time has not yet come to proclaim our country a socialist republic. In our opinion it is better to be precipitous in creative

<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Under the Banner of Internationalism*, Sofia, 1971, pp. 132-33.



endeavour and to be dilatory in acquiring a new nomenclature than to do the opposite."<sup>1</sup>

*The Socialist Unity Party of Germany.* Directive of the 8th Party Congress in June 1971: "The Five-Year Plan, 1971-75, will serve further to consolidate the German Democratic Republic. It embraces an important stage for the further development and strengthening of the material and technological basis of socialism in the GDR. The Plan continues the programme of full-scale construction of socialism and the forming of an advanced social system of socialism."<sup>2</sup>

*The Workers' Party of Korea.* Report by Kim Ir Sen at the 5th Party Congress in November 1970: "As a result of the implementation of the historic task of industrialisation, our country has become a socialist industrial state.... Today our Party and people are confronted by the vital issue of attaining on the basis of the successes we have already made in revolution and construction, a further consolidation and development of the socialist system in the Korean People's Democratic Republic and accelerating the complete victory of socialism."<sup>3</sup>

*The Rumanian Communist Party.* Report by N. Ceausescu at the 10th Party Congress in August 1969: "The major objective of the programme of the Rumanian Communist Party in the period up to 1975 and its tentative plans up to 1980 consists in constantly extending and improving the material and technological basis of the country and creating an all-round developed socialist society."<sup>4</sup>

*The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.* Concluding speech by G. Husak at the 14th Party Congress in May 1971: "The Congress has adopted a programme of all-round development of our socialist society, its political system and economy, a programme of raising the living and cultural standards of the people."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pravda*, November 24, 1970.

<sup>2</sup> *Directive of the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on the Five-Year National Economic Development Plan of the GDR, 1971-1975*, Zeit im Bild Publishers, Dresden, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Pravda*, November 5, 1970.

<sup>4</sup> *Pravda*, August 8, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> *14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*, Moscow, 1971, p. 220 (in Russian).

- There is hardly need to underline the basic similarity of problems which the above-mentioned parties are tackling, just as there is no need to draw attention to the specific conditions in which they operate. The latter are to a large degree rightfully a matter for the individual parties which for various reasons, primarily objective, cannot yet tackle the problem of building communism or mature socialist society. This has its own strict logic. M. A. Suslov said that "the socialist phase has its degrees of maturation depending on the level of development of the productive forces, the perfection of the relations of production and on the specific historical situation....

"Different countries take different lengths of time to resolve socialist tasks and especially to form mature socialism which presupposes a suitable material and technological base and advanced social relations. Those which have taken the new path, being economically advanced, have a relatively easier task in building socialism. Countries which have, as they begin to form socialist relations, an inadequate material and technological base have to tread a long historical path and resolve more problems."<sup>1</sup>

[Let us return to the realm of facts. The socialist development of such states as Albania, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, China, Cuba and Mongolia was considerably complicated by the weak initial basis. This was supplemented during the years of the popular democratic system in the above-mentioned countries (with the exception of the Mongolian People's Republic) by extreme circumstances which even today prevent the normal resolution of the tasks. Such circumstances in Albania and China (which has been referred to in some detail above) include the military and bureaucratic practice of the personality cult and unjustified self-isolation from the world socialist community; the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Cuba had to deal with direct aggression or the constant threat of it. The distinguishing features of these countries include the obvious incompleteness of the material and technological base that is inadequate for a socialist system and, simultaneously, the complete conversion of the means of production into public

<sup>1</sup> *Kommunist*, No. 7, 1968, pp. 11-12 (in Russian).



ownership. On the one hand, they still have to exert tremendous effort further to industrialise their economy, and on the other, the features of society for building socialism are already more or less clearly discernible.

What are the features? In the words of L. I. Brezhnev, they include "the power of the working people with the vanguard role exercised by the working class and the leadership of social development provided by the Marxist-Leninist party; public ownership of the means of production and, on its basis, the planned development of the national economy on the highest technological level for the benefit of the whole people; the implementation of the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'; the education of the whole people in the spirit of the ideology of scientific communism, in a spirit of friendship with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the working people of the whole world; and lastly, a foreign policy founded on the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism".<sup>1</sup>

The development of these features is not an automatic process. It begins at the moment of socialist revolution (or at the socialist stage of popular-democratic revolution) and the establishment of popular power (the dictatorship of the working class in one form or another) and at times is invariably intensive and uneven. Apart from the objective circumstances complicating this process, much depends on the class consistency, the principled nature, the rational and flexible attitude in the policy of a ruling Marxist-Leninist party, on its loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Experience shows that the violation of these requirements can lead to a temporary halt in socialist progress in some spheres of social life, to its disorganisation and even retrogression. The very existence of some features of victorious socialism in a country can be then questioned. An example of this is the trend in the Chinese People's Republic since the end of the 1950s. If such a trend is not stopped in time, it could become a great danger for the whole of the new system.

<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course*, pp. 291-92.

Speaking of the opportunities before Cuba, typical for the above-mentioned states, Fidel Castro has said that, "as a rule, we are very clearly aware of our needs, we almost always know what we want and only in a very few cases—and with very few people—do we realise that our country has insufficient resources to satisfy all these permanent needs.

"Various factors here play a part of which many are objective. But the subjective factors are ever present: our low level of technological development, insufficient businesslike attitudes, feeble organisation of production, a multiplicity of errors, attitudes of negligence and carelessness, and mainly, of course, the lack of necessary know-how. To this we must add the special circumstances in which our country has to contend with the many problems confronting it.

"We find the best method of dealing with our problems is as follows: we should stress our own subjective mistakes and lay less emphasis on the objective difficulties confronting us."<sup>1</sup>

The example of the Mongolian People's Republic provides a clear illustration of the problems facing such states on the way to socialism with relatively favourable internal and external conditions. The 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in June 1966 took stock of "the historical transition from feudalism to socialist society which signified the triumph of the general policy of the Party for developing the country towards socialism bypassing capitalism" (the report of Y. Tsedenbal).<sup>2</sup> The Congress adopted a new, fourth Party Programme which "clearly defined the general Party policy for the period of *completing socialist construction*".<sup>3</sup> During this period (up to the end of the 1970s), the Party Programme says, "the Mongolian People's Republic will take a considerable step forward towards the level of the advanced socialist states in the volume of per capita production of national income and in the most important forms of industrial and agricultural production,

<sup>1</sup> *Pravda*, December 14, 1970.

<sup>2</sup> 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Moscow, 1966, p. 4 (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

in the per capita provision of consumption funds and in other vital indices of the workers' living standards".<sup>1</sup>

At the 16th Party Congress in June 1971, Tsedenbal said that from the early 1960s the Mongolian People's Republic, having created the basis of socialism, had entered a new phase in its development—the stage of *completing the formation of the material and technological base of socialism*. Resolution of this task would take some time and a great deal of effort. "The completion of the building of socialism in our country presupposes it passing through a whole historical period of development, a number of stages of economic growth. The initial stage along this path, as our Party Programme shows, is to tackle the task of turning the Mongolian People's Republic in the near future into an industrial-agrarian state which has a rational structure of mining and processing industry, the correct and expedient co-ordination of the main branches of the socialist economy."<sup>2</sup>

The building of socialism in Poland also has its own characteristics. During a quarter of a century of popular power it has abolished economic backwardness and has become an *industrial state* where more than half the national income comes from industry.<sup>3</sup> The prominent Polish politician, Stefan Olszowski, wrote that "our economy, which until comparatively recently was at the agrarian, pre-industrial stage of development, has already passed through the first phase of industrialisation and is *on the way to becoming a highly developed economy*."<sup>4</sup>

The rate of Polish economic development in the last twenty-five years has been high: industrial output by comparison with the pre-war figure has grown fourteen times; the number of industrial workers and employees has increased 4.5 times.

Poland is conspicuous in that, on the one hand, by its economic, technological and cultural potential the country is, as the 6th PUWP Congress in December 1971 made clear, already in a position to tackle the problems of *advanced*

<sup>1</sup> 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Pravda*, June 8, 1971.

<sup>3</sup> 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *New Times*, No. 29, 1969, p. 5.

*socialist society* and is partially tackling them;<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, it has still not completed the socialisation of the means of production (mainly in agriculture), which means that it has not yet emerged beyond the *transitional period* from capitalism to socialism.<sup>2</sup>

The forces of socialism prevail in the balance of political forces in the country. At the same time, the all-round socialist development of Poland takes place amidst class struggle. Such are the characteristics of the domestic political situation.

It is an important fact that the Polish countryside is largely dominated by middle peasants both economically and socially. What policy is being pursued by the government in relation to this category of working people? Olszowski explains: "While preserving individual ownership of land, which a radical land reform gave to the peasants, our Party is *socialising* agriculture by means of *indirect* methods. The state buys from the peasants 80 per cent of their marketable produce and through a system of contracts exerts a powerful influence on the structure of field crops and livestock raising. Through a system of direct financing and crediting of agriculture it controls over 85 per cent of all agricultural investments. Besides, 90 per cent of all the tractors are the socialist property of the state farms, machine and tractor stations and agricultural circles."<sup>3</sup> Even before the economic socialisation of the means of production (co-operation), the Polish individual farmer was mastering socialist methods of farming through preliminary adaptation to advanced farm technology, to latest achievements of agro-engineering and zoology, and through its involvement in the collective organisation of labour.

The social and economic system of Yugoslavia really bears a *transitional* character. By the definition of the 9th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in March 1969, it had attained the level of *moderately developed states*. The Congress recognised the necessity (along with expanding industry and services) "of *steadily developing* agricultural

<sup>1</sup> See E. Gierek, *The Tasks of the Party in the Further Socialist Development of the PPR*, Moscow, 1971, p. 89 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *New Times*, No. 29, 1969, p. 5.

production and the *socialist socio-economic relations in agriculture and in the countryside... Socialised farms* must play an important part in raising agricultural production and developing socialist relations in the countryside. The present period and future prospects demand that social agencies based on modern organisation of production, science, techniques and technology, should make a fresh decisive step forward in the direction of *socialising* production, developing integration and consolidating social and economic relations based on self-administration".<sup>1</sup> For the moment Yugoslavia still has to face the fact that "self-administration" as a principle of organisation is unjustifiably counterposed to the guiding role of the Party, to the economic-organisational and cultural-educational functions of the working people's state. Hence the need to pay more attention to the basic principle of the organisation of socialist society, and to typical forms of realising this principle.

How is capitalist society, the most developed exploitative society, organised?

An *anarchic decentralisation* was typical of the premonopoly period; it fully corresponded to the requirements of free competition and spontaneous market forces. Monopoly capital, however, fought competition and increasingly introduced a *bureaucratic centralism*. The omnipotence of monopoly cartels is reinforced and they extend their monopoly to political and ideological spheres. Although anarchic decentralisation and bureaucratic centralism are mutually exclusive, this does not prevent them from coexisting within the bounds of one and the same state, for the essence of both is the same—the *arbitrary rule* (in a "democratic" or bureaucratic, even in a military-fascist, form) *of a class of capitalists*, and an organisation of wage slavery corresponding to the needs of capital.

Neither principle is acceptable for socialist society. Only *democratic centralism* can be its method of organisation. The level of individual freedom depends on the specific correlation of democracy and centralism in a particular period of socialist and communist construction. Lenin said:

<sup>1</sup> *Socialist Theory and Practice*, January-March 1969, p. 61 (in Russian).

"We are for democratic centralism. And it must be clearly understood how vastly different democratic centralism is from bureaucratic centralism on the one hand, and from anarchism on the other. The opponents of centralism continually put forward autonomy and federation as a means of struggle against the uncertainties of centralism. As a matter of fact, democratic centralism in no way excludes autonomy, on the contrary, it presupposes the necessity of it."<sup>1</sup>

The universal laws of the transition from capitalism to communism find their practical expression in the *centralist* principle of organisation of socialist society. Rational management from one centre is the principal guarantee of popular control over the most essential social relations and of their further purposeful improvement.

Meanwhile, a rational approach presupposes that the general laws of building socialism and communism operate differently in different places, while their optimal manifestation in the activity of nations, groups and individuals can differ very greatly from their action over an entire society and even more so as a world system. The cognised necessity can only be realised through democracy, i.e., the proffering of extensive independence to groups and individuals, precisely because the general laws are inapplicable outside their specific and individual expression.

Too much centralism runs the risk of blunting the initiative of rank-and-file workers and of subjectivism. The Polish economist Jozef Pajestka has written that "experience shows that excessive predominance of the central viewpoint and the unconditional subordination to this viewpoint of all partial solutions (through administrative methods) give rise to negative features. In particular, it tends to overwhelm the real social trends, stifle initiative instead of giving it free reign, and impedes the growth of the sense of responsibility.

"To ensure unrestricted initiative in planning a certain 'autonomy' is needed for the various socio-economic trends."<sup>2</sup>

It is possible to go to the other extreme—of anarchy, when democracy is not bolstered by a reliable scientifically

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1966, p. 22.

grounded organisational structure, when work is weak in getting the working people used to governing public affairs. This distortion ends in disorientation and it can cause a partial loss of control over social relations and make some social processes ungovernable. For these reasons, to strike and retain a proper balance between democracy and centralism corresponding to the existing social level of production is one of the main problems in improving the whole social system of socialism. It is, in fact, the principal issue of political leadership in the new society.

"Centralism, understood in a truly democratic sense, presupposes the possibility, created for the first time in history, of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal."<sup>1</sup> It is socialism which guarantees a more effective organisational framework of activity for millions of working people.

Democratic centralism is incompatible both with banality in tackling issues with a disdainful attitude to the will of the majority, and with counterposing the interests of local agencies and workers' groups to overall popular interest.

According to Lenin, "communism requires and presupposes the greatest possible centralisation of large-scale production throughout the country.... To deprive the all-Russia centre of the right of direct control over all the enterprises of the given industry throughout the country ... would be regional anarcho-syndicalism, and not communism".<sup>2</sup> But this is not "bureaucratic centralism", levelling all and everything and reducing to naught private and individual differences. "Local distinctions, specific economic formations, forms of everyday life, the degree of preparedness of the population, attempts to carry out a particular plan—all these are bound to be reflected in the specific features of the path to socialism of a particular labour commune of the state. The greater such diversity—provided, of course, that it does not turn into eccentricity—the more surely and rapidly shall we ensure the achievement of both democratic centralism and a socialist econ-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 42, p. 96.

omy.<sup>1</sup> "Creative activity at the grass roots is the basic factor of the new public life.... Socialism cannot be decreed from above. Its spirit rejects the mechanical bureaucratic approach; living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves."<sup>2</sup>

Implementation of the principle of democratic centralism presupposes fusion of initiative and research with the strictest discipline, model organisation based on undeviating observance of the laws and standards of socialist community. Democracy without discipline, "boundless collegiality" without an accountability of individual workers inevitably engenders disorder and chaos. Lenin demanded that "at any rate, and under all circumstances without exception, collegiate management must be accompanied by the precisest definition of the personal responsibility of every individual for a precisely defined job. To refer to collegiate methods as an excuse for irresponsibility is a most dangerous evil".<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, discipline that is always coercive, under bureaucratic pressure, without individual or collective initiative, discipline that does not prevent subjectivism and the "hazards of centralism", can result in red tape. Only a constant fight against both extremes can result in success in creating "a new social bond; a new labour discipline, a new organisation of labour, which will combine the best word in science and capitalist technology with the mass association of class-conscious workers creating large-scale socialist industry".<sup>4</sup>

The history of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies testifies that the form of *democratic centralism*, by dint of its immense influence on various social institutions, inevitably becomes a determinant of the type of socialist society.

This form may be comparatively more *centralist* (we shall designate it CD) or more *democratic* (DC), while a single common rule operates: the less guaranteed is the automatic nature of socialist development which finds itself in direct dependence on the degree of development of machine produc-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 437.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 423.

tion, the more justified are methods of administrative influence and interference from the centre. In other words, in a socialist state, where artisan methods of production are relatively widespread, and the authority of industrial discipline is comparatively limited, since industry itself has not yet formed, a higher degree of organisation will often depend on the authority of political power. The latter incurs a special *responsibility* for political authority if it is wrongly used, it leads to subjectivism if it is not confined to the rigid bounds of large-scale industrial discipline<sup>1</sup> and the demands of science.

If we now return to the formula for the transitional period in the USSR which included five sets of symbols: C—C—C, I—C—C, C—C—I, I—C—I, I—I—I, we, naturally, arrive at the question of what organisation corresponded to it: a relatively more centralised or a relatively more democratic? The presence then of a large number of tools of individual use and the predominance of manual labour in the economy favoured CD.

During the building of socialism there have been moments when, despite the demands of the relatively backward economy, a decentralised experiment was tried for some time, thereby foregoing many advantages of a centralist organisation that corresponded more to the specific conditions of the historical period.

*Subjectivism* found its peculiar expression in the difficulties which the economy and the population had to experience: although it is usually associated with excessive administrative rule, *it was here conspicuous for insufficient administration*, and it was accompanied by semi-anarchist appeals to fight against the coercion of the state.

Like the anti-authoritarian school which was criticised by Engels, the present-day "anti-étatists" are "blind to all facts that make the thing necessary and they passionately fight the word". Despite the lessons of history some of

<sup>1</sup> Engels wrote: "Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society.... The social organisation of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable." (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, pp. 378-79).

today's fervent fighters "against the word" also "demand that the authoritative political state should be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it have been destroyed".<sup>1</sup>

Without going too deeply into the question, let us note that accounting, together with the forms of production which are developed in the country and the forms of democratic centralism within it, provides a sufficiently full idea of the social structure of a particular socialist state.

The question may arise of whether to include the level of culture. This should not be included because it is already given once specific productive forces exist. Tools of individual use applied on a mass scale, by themselves attest to the cultural makeup of the mass worker. Universal literacy "does not work" when manual labour predominates, while at a higher level of technology it is capable of becoming an active force in the all-round progress of society. The dominance of machine production, naturally, implies a high scientific and technological potential of society and a cultural and technological level of labour power. A certain minimum of culture acts, on the one hand, as a prerequisite for the scientific potential of society, on the other, as its consequence, and on the third, as a condition for its successful operation. There is, therefore, no need to single out culture which does not transform social relations by itself, without its material embodiment in the means of production and without reliance on them.

The essential features of a socialist system and its evolution are often illustrated by the example of the Soviet Union, both for historical reasons and especially for the fact that it opened up *the most tested and extensive type of social and economic structure of socialism*.

■ Speaking at the 24th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "In our country, it will be recalled, socialism triumphed back in the latter half of the thirties. This was followed by more than three decades of the Soviet people's heroic labour and struggle. Our economy of that time and our present-day economy are based on the same type of relations of production, on the same economic laws, the laws of social-

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, p. 378.

ism. However, there are important new features that distinguish the modern economy from the economy of the late thirties."<sup>1</sup> Let us examine from these points of view the construction in the USSR of a developed socialist society, which means essentially *examining a high degree of real socialisation of labour*. Its main features were defined in the Central Committee Report to the Congress.

Above all it includes a completely *new range* of economy, economic strength that is "based on a versatile industry and large-scale socialist agriculture, advanced science and skilled cadres of workers, specialists and managers."<sup>2</sup>

Further, it includes a considerable increase in our *possibilities* and a growth in the requirements which society makes on the economy. These new requirements include the need to guarantee a stock for future economic growth, technologically to re-equip production, generously finance science and education, while putting ever greater effort and finance into improving *popular welfare*.

Demands are increasingly being made on planning, management and efficient economic methods, especially when we bear in mind the rapid advance of the *scientific and technological revolution* and the active involvement of the Soviet Union in the integration of the world socialist economy.

Therefore, *from the economic point of view*, mature socialism relies on an actually and not formally socialised, highly industrialised, truly modern, production complex which possesses an up-to-date scientific experimental basis; it is marked by an ability to apply the achievements of world science and technology, a transition to predominantly intensive methods of production, and close attention to questions concerning an increase in workers' living standards.

*From the social point of view*, mature socialism is marked by a mounting convergence of the working class, the collective farm peasants and the people's intelligentsia on the basis of greater community, above all, of the basic class determinant—relationship to the means of production, on the basis of the development of the directly social socialist labour. The growth of the part of the population which is directly associated with public ownership testifies to the increasing

<sup>1</sup> 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 48.

*integrational* processes in the composition of Soviet society. While in 1928 (in the middle of the transitional period), this group comprised 18 per cent of society, by 1936 (at the time of the completion of the building of the socialist foundation), it was just less than 50 per cent, and today, in the early 1970s, it is over 80 per cent. The collective farm peasants are increasingly being involved in the use of public property and in increasing it, alongside the working class and the intellectuals, through production and non-production spheres. In a speech to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union, L. I. Brezhnev said that "with the working class retaining its leading role... the social homogeneity of socialist society has increasingly grown. The essential distinctions between labour by hand and by brain and between the working and living conditions in town and countryside are being rapidly erased."<sup>1</sup> The levels of education and culture of the two classes of working people and of social groups are levelling out, the basis for their common interests is being extended, philosophical premises and common features of social psychology are being formed, which, naturally, brings us closer to the Marxist-Leninist ideal of a classless society.

*From the political point of view*, mature socialism has a popular and universal socialist statehood and democracy which becomes possible due to the adoption by all groups of working people of the ideological and social outlook of the working class, its internationalist interests and communist ideas. The Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, without foregoing its political qualities, becomes the herald of the concentrated interest and will of the entire people, which corresponds precisely to the evolution of society to a socialist classless structure.

It is patently obvious that this brief enumeration of the properties of mature socialism (like any other system) is by no means exhaustive; that was not our object. At the same time, it indicates that the features of socialism foreseen by Marx are increasingly in evidence in Soviet society. Many people ask whether mature socialism is destined ultimately to coincide in essentials with that Marxist forecast or wheth-

<sup>1</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Moscow, 1972, p. 83.

er progress will take a different route. Different answers are provided to that question.

I recall in this connection a discussion held by Moscow University economists in the late 1950s. The discussion concerned the nature of the law of value in the socialist economy, but more general problems of socialist theory were also touched upon.

They were particularly interested, for example, in the proposal to tackle the problem of the need for commodity production initially "for a socialist system in which all the means of production are public, state property, i.e., with no collective farm form of production".<sup>1</sup>

In an attempt to prove the correctness of this abstraction, a participant in the discussion maintained that this type of socialism was practically possible and theoretically feasible, for example, in Britain and in the Soviet Union, where it follows from the phenomenal technological progress and the growth in the industrial basis of agricultural production which makes it possible and necessary to raise collective farm property to the level of public property even before the building of complete communism. This prospect is not one, of course, for the near future. If such a possibility arises, it will occur in the relatively remote future.<sup>2</sup>

That, naturally, produced a long argument. Some spoke of the inadmissibility of viewing public property in isolation from co-operative property and counterposing them, although it is known that historically the former appears before the latter, and that they both play a different part. Lenin, after all, had referred to public enterprises, not co-operative undertakings as "enterprises of a consistently socialist type".<sup>3</sup> Others pointed out that "to build a society with only one state form of property would mean the transition of society from socialism to communism",<sup>4</sup> which, obviously, erased the difference between the lower and higher phases of the new formation.

It is worth drawing attention to this discussion if only because communism, as distinct from socialism, is understood

<sup>1</sup> *The Law of Value and Its Role Under Socialism*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 473.

<sup>4</sup> *The Law of Value and Its Role Under Socialism*, p. 35.

by Marxists-Leninists as *a classless social system with a single public ownership of the means of production*.<sup>1</sup> One is inclined to ask: in the historical framework of which phase does society acquire these features? This question has theoretical and political meaning.

If we look at the present situation we may well come to the conclusion that "two forms of social property lie at the basis of socialism as distinct from communism".<sup>2</sup> This, apparently, specific approach, however, is extremely abstract because it actually purports that between the first and second phases of communism there is an unbridgeable gap.

If socialism is possible *only* on the basis of two forms of property, while communism is impossible without a single public ownership, how then do we imagine the *transition* from the first stage of society to the second? In this event, we have either to recognise the need for the two forms of property to come together and merge, and for the differences between classes to be obliterated *already* at the stage of socialism or we have to admit that these problems can only be resolved under communism.

The first assumption is incompatible with this because it implies recognition in the development of socialism of a *stage with complete socialisation of the means of production and without classes*; the second is incompatible because it implies that two forms of property and a class division are possible under communism.

At least *two* methodological errors are made.

The *first* consists in the fact that even some aspects of socialism, that are described in the ideal model propounded by Marx, Engels and Lenin, are considered unfeasible.

The *second* is that the Marxist-Leninist notion of the differences between the higher and lower phases of the communist formation is distorted.

Let us begin by saying that in the light of the practical and theoretical experience already accumulated the question of whether the scientific forecast of socialism can be implemented can and must be viewed differently than it was 15-20 years ago. One may judge this by looking at the example of the Soviet Union and other socialist states which have set

<sup>1</sup> See *The Road to Communism*, p. 509.

<sup>2</sup> *The Law of Value and Its Role Under Socialism*, p. 32.



themselves the task of constructing mature socialism, and at the example of advanced capitalist states which, in an economic and cultural respect, are most prepared for socialist changes.

The people's increasing wielding of public ownership of the means of production under socialism expresses the general trend of social development.

The unprecedented growth in state investments in agricultural production in the Eighth and Ninth Five-Year plans would indicate that "increasingly broader use of the country's general economic potential" becomes a necessary condition for the development of agriculture and that "agricultural growth depends not only on the collective farmers and state-farm workers, but also, in many respects, on the efforts of the workers in industry, science and technology".<sup>1</sup> The 24th CPSU Congress described specialisation of farming and the introduction of industrial methods in meat, dairy and other production as processes "that shape the future of our agriculture in the long run".<sup>2</sup> The Congress also warned against the danger of making mistakes and going ahead too hastily in this sphere.

In his Report to the Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "The rapid growth of agriculture leads increasingly to the spread of inter-collective-farm and state-collective-farm production associations and the establishment of agro-industrial complexes. These are able to make more effective use of equipment, investments and manpower, and make broader use of industrial methods. The Party will support these forms of organising production in the countryside."<sup>3</sup> These measures tend to improve efficiency in this vital sector of the economy and lead to an inevitable growth in the level of socialist socialisation in its completeness, to an enhancement of the homogeneity of public and collective farm ownership of the means of production. In this respect progress is, undoubtedly, being made in the direction that Marx prescribed.

The co-operative form of socialist economy has far from exhausted its usefulness. The rapid growth of services and of

<sup>1</sup> 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

their role in everyday life may cause the need to resort more extensively to a group method of socialist association of the population in this sphere too. But in a definite sphere of production, to which we refer (agriculture), certain basic trends are discernible.

If we look at the advanced capitalist states and try to forecast their development after a socialist revolution, we must, at least for many of them, allow the emergence of a somewhat different public property and social structure than in the USSR and other socialist states. Where the peasants comprise a very small proportion of the population, and the class of small commodity producers is represented by the artisans, workers in services and trade, the appearance of co-operative socialist ownership for a more or less lengthy period is most probable in the non-productive sphere. As A. M. Kovalyov suggests, "in some states public ownership may appear, not only in industry but in agriculture too, even under socialism".<sup>1</sup>

On the one hand, since public socialisation will here immediately bear a more extensive character than in states which began building socialism from the level of a moderately or weakly developed capitalism or even from the pre-capitalist stage; one may speak of greater proximity to the Marxist forecast. On the other hand, since a fairly large number of workers in the services will be engaged in the co-operative form of production, and in a number of countries they exceed the number of people engaged directly in production, there will be the problem similar to that which confronts the socialist countries with a large co-operative sector. In one way or another, the empirical material which is referred to by those who doubt the feasibility of the Marxist model of socialism, will remain for some time, but the process of socialisation will, nevertheless, win through.

If we assume, therefore, the possibility of the socialist stage having the features indicated by Marx, we may describe the periodisation of the first phase of communism in the following way:

I. First there is a *transitional period* from capitalism to socialism which economically signifies a diffusion in society

<sup>1</sup> *The Laws and Stages of Development of the Communist Formation*, Moscow University Publishers, 1971, p. 26.



themselves the task of constructing mature socialism, and at the example of advanced capitalist states which, in an economic and cultural respect, are most prepared for socialist changes.

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of socialist forms of economic management and a corresponding social structure, and *politically*—a dictatorship of the proletariat. The compulsory formal socialisation becomes real as an adequate material and technological base (if society did not have such) is formed. The resolution of this task may exceed the framework of the transitional period if it takes longer to construct the material and technological base of socialism than it does to nationalise and co-operate production.

2. The transitional period is followed by the *initial stage* of socialist development presupposing in all countries the consolidation of the new social and economic forms, the raising of the productive forces to the necessary level and the resolution of other problems which guarantee *actual universal socialisation*. Socialism proves its superiority over capitalism in the *given* country by securing a level of labour productivity that is higher than in the pre-revolutionary period. The non-antagonistic class and social structure takes shape. Society now consists of friendly groups and strata of working people who are socialist by their nature.

3. *Mature socialism* continues in breadth and depth the process of socialisation, ridding itself everywhere of formal elements and presupposing at its culminating stage the creation of a communist structure of property and a corresponding social structure. It falls into two stages:

(a) the stage where the two forms of socialist property come close together and merge under the influence of the material and technological basis of communism which is being built. This stage coincides with the intensive obliteration of class differences (which, nonetheless, are still considerable);

(b) the stage at which the public form of socialist ownership becomes really all-embracing and society becomes classless, "i.e., when there is no distinction between the members of society as regards their relation to the social means of production",<sup>1</sup> though it has not yet become homogeneous. The Bulgarian Communist Party Programme, adopted in 1971, says: "Mature socialist society is the highest and last stage of socialism as the first phase of the communist formation."

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 462.

It expresses the essence of socialism most fully, comprehensively and purely; and completely reveals its possibilities.... On the basis of the utmost development of the productive forces, *the relations of production typical for socialist society become fully mature*. State and co-operative property in which complex quantitative and qualitative changes take place, *draw closer together and the process of their gradual fusion into a single state property increases.... Differences between social classes and groups fade away and by its social structure socialist society approaches the threshold of social homogeneity*.<sup>1</sup>

This is because the resolution of the enumerated tasks, judging by the rate of transformation, requires less time than that needed to overcome the vestiges of the old division of labour into mental and manual, creative and reproductive (mechanical), organisational and executive. This is precisely what Marx, Engels and Lenin regarded as a vital delineation between the first and second phases of communism.

On the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin wrote: "Politically, the distinction between the first, or lower, and, the higher phase of communism will in time, probably, be tremendous. But it would be ridiculous to recognise this distinction now, under capitalism, and only individual anarchists, perhaps, could invest it with primary importance...."<sup>2</sup> Today, at the stage of mature socialism the revealing of an immense political difference between the first and second phases of communism is a condition for a really serious study of the problems of communist construction. Only dogmatic and shortsighted people can object to that.

Lenin was right to talk of political distinctions. In the transition to the second phase of communism, the very base and source of politics—the class structure of society—undergoes a tremendous change. The functions which earlier were political are taken over by the system of administration which continues to have a state character but which expresses public as well as class interests. This system still requires permanent specialists, but at the same time acquires features of mass self-administration.

<sup>1</sup> Programme of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Sofia, 1974, pp. 35-37.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 470.

The qualitative difference between socialism and communism lies mainly in the sphere of labour and distributive relations. On the one hand, communism is impossible without an abundance of material and spiritual blessings capable of satisfying the many needs of fully developed individuals; on the other hand, it is impossible without the mass of workers being prepared to work irrespective of wages, i.e., unless labour becomes a prime requirement of the majority, and the people develop an ability rationally to regulate their other requirements. The political importance of these problems lies in the fact that their resolution determines both control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption—the major functions of the socialist state—and the time schedules for the transition to communist distribution according to need, which will mean the completion of the socialist phase and the beginning of the higher phase of communism.

One sometimes hears the opinion that Marx and Engels thought of communism as a system which was more or less identically organised in both phases of its development. However, they never regarded them as identical:

(a) the organisation of production which permits co-operative forms, alongside state economic forms, *and* organisation based only on public ownership of the means of production;

(b) economic organisation relying on distribution according to work and thereby presupposing the need for control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption, *and* organisation which would grow to a distribution according to need and where control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption is no longer necessary;

(c) state organisation under socialism *and* a non-state self-administering organisation (if we remove the threat of restoring capitalism from without) as will exist under communism.

The transition from the first organisation to the second is materially predicated both on an enormous increase in the intellectual and creative content of the work of the main productive personnel and on the achievement in the course of the development of large-scale industry of a situation where "the creation of actual wealth will become less dependent on working time and on the amount of expended labour than on

the power of those agents which are set in motion in the course of working time and which themselves in turn (their tremendous effectiveness) are not in any accord with the direct working time which is demanded for their production; they depend more on the overall level and on the progress of technology or on the use of that science in production".<sup>1</sup>

The myth of the similar organisation of socialism and communism is also shattered if we look into the problem of social equality.

Socialism, as we know, is an incomplete communist society "which is *compelled* to abolish at first *only* 'injustice' of the means of production seized by individuals, and which is *unable* at once to eliminate the other injustice, which consists in the distribution of consumer goods 'according to the amount of labour performed' (and not according to needs)".<sup>2</sup> Lenin continues: "And so, in the first phase of communist society (usually called socialism) 'bourgeois right' is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production."<sup>3</sup> Naturally, this level of economic development does not remain constant. By consolidating socialism and forming communist social relations, we inevitably arrive at a situation where *it* continually expands. The qualitative leap which is prepared by the preceding development also brings about the removal of the above-mentioned legal regulators *in relation to the objects of consumption* as well. This is only another expression of the transition to communism which, due to the change indicated, must be organised *essentially in a different way* than socialism.

Whatever boundary separating socialism and communism we take we always and everywhere have to deal with human properties, with the qualities of the people which, as *precisely mass qualities*, act as an objective factor of our development.

At the 24th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "A great project—the building of communism—cannot be advanced without the harmonious development of man himself. Communism is inconceivable without a high level of culture,

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 46, Part II, p. 213 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 467.

education, sense of civic duty and inner maturity of people just as it is inconceivable without the appropriate material and technical basis."<sup>1</sup>

This base itself can play its historic role only in the body of communist productive forces, the main one of which is *human beings*. The extent to which people are orientated towards communist progress decides how the material prerequisites for communism will be harmonised. It will take many years to mould a person who has a scientific, Marxist-Leninist philosophy and habits of public administration, who has a high general and professional culture, a need for creative endeavour and an ability sensibly to use the blessings of socialism and communism. How the various generations of builders of the new society will resolve this problem will depend on many circumstances, but one requirement of the epoch they will all have: a person is less and less able to regard himself as a passive victim of circumstances; his development can only be rationally understood in the light of *revolutionary experience*—as the coincidence of changing circumstances and changing human activities.

\* \* \*

The USSR is the second industrial power in the world. The existence of a strong machine basis in all economic sectors and up-to-date scientific potential, plus half a century's experience of development on the basis of public ownership, make it possible to affirm that in the USSR the form *C—C—C* predominates.

At the same time, the fact that up to 40 per cent of workers in industry and even more in construction and agriculture are still engaged in manual labour testifies to the presence in the public and the co-operative and collective farm sectors of the economy of the formula *I—C—C*.

Finally, one cannot ignore the substantial sector of social labour represented by personal subsidiary plots of state farm workers and of collective farmers, which gives us *I—I—I*. Of course, this is not an independent economic structure but, rather, a form of economic endeavour dependent on the

<sup>1</sup> 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 100.

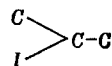
state of the socialist socialised economy and connected with the latter in two respects: either due to the need for additional sources of distribution and supply to the population, or for the sake of satisfying the need for amateur market gardening, livestock breeding or fishing. Only in the first case does it have a social and economic importance and it is mentioned only because it still fulfils this important rôle. According to figures, available for the mid-1960s, income from personal subsidiary plots amounted to about 17 per cent of the total real income of the whole of the Soviet population.

In view of the fact that in recent years attempts have been made to counterpose state socialisation of the means of production to its co-operative variants and even to prove their alleged advantages, it is worth recalling the opinion of the founders of scientific communism who regarded large-scale machine industry under socialism only as socialised on the scale of the whole of society. Lenin was quite explicit: "The aim of socialism is to turn all the means of production into the property of the whole people, and that does not at all mean that the ships become the property of the ship workers or the banks the property of the bank clerks. If people take such paltry things seriously, then we must do away with nationalisation, because the whole thing is preposterous."<sup>1</sup>

As far as socialist co-operation is concerned, it is the most convenient path of transition of a small worker-owner to the new social and economic system, because it combines private and public interests. Meanwhile, it serves as a convenient form in which entire branches of production become socialistically mature and prepare for the highest level of socialisation technologically and culturally.

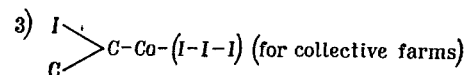
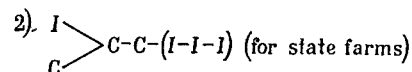
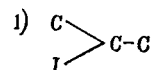
Our formulae should express the incompleteness of the process of unifying socialist socialisation according to the type of public ownership, due mainly to the non-uniform technological equipment of industry and agriculture. Of the three *C*'s the third, if it refers to the co-operative form, will be designated as *Co*. We then have the following picture for the USSR: first, state industry will be represented as *C—C—C* and *I—C—C*, or otherwise:

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 63.



The first form here, naturally, predominates and supersedes the second; this process is slower in the state farms where the forms are similar but the percentage of manual labour is higher. The collective farm production will have a dual formula  $C-C-Co$  and  $I-C-Co$ , while both the state and collective farm forms will have to be supplemented by  $I-I-I$ —as the personal plots of the workers and members of the artels.

Thus we have:



In accordance with the concepts of Marx, Engels and Lenin,  $C-C-C$  is the final form (the scheme or structural type) of mature socialism. Three conditions are necessary today for its universal dissemination in the Soviet Union:

(a) the exclusion of  $I$  as a socially significant factor, that is the completion of the mechanisation of labour;

(b) the drawing together of  $Co$  and  $C$ , that is, that the co-operative ownership should rise, on the basis of fulfilling the first condition, to the level of public ownership and should actually be identical with it;

(c) the disappearance of  $I-I-I$  (in the above-indicated sense) as a result of which the needs being satisfied by it will be covered successfully through the production of the public economy and services.

According to the above mentioned premises, the form of democratic centralism in Soviet society develops in concert with the formation of an all-embracing, highly industrialised

economy and with the above-mentioned conditions. Soviet  $CD$  goes from its centralised democratic version towards a centralism which relies on the utmost utilisation of local initiative, is imbued with a scientific content and is devoid of the extremes "of bureaucratic centralism" (as Lenin once put it). The transition from  $CD$  to  $DC$  now under way is inevitable in mature socialist societies and is typical for their normal development.

No matter whether the individual socialist states are far from or near to their final goal, no matter what the difficulties will they meet on their way, they all have to deal with the same imperative law which operates in its own unique form: *a gradual and undeviating movement takes place towards a certain scientifically based type of "completed socialism" (Lenin), which we have conventionally designated as the three C's in combination with DC.* This is confirmed not only theoretically or by reference to various political documents, but also by an analysis of the rich statistical material—the latter, however, goes beyond the brief of this book.

Socialism, according to Lenin, is not a system which will suddenly appear out of nowhere. An understanding of this axiom shows an essential difference between the proponents of scientific socialism and those of utopian socialism. If anyone expects the new society to appear in a complete form from fully prepared prerequisites without suffering any non-coincidence with this historic task, they are displaying amazing political naïveté (if not something even worse). At best, they may be, as Lenin called them "men in a muffler", who forget that "there will always be such a 'discrepancy', that it always exists in the development of nature as well as in the development of society, that only by a series of attempts—each of which, taken by itself, will be one-sided and will suffer from certain inconsistencies—will complete socialism be created by the revolutionary co-operation of the proletarians of all countries."<sup>1</sup>

An analysis of the process of forming this "integral socialism" is a task no less daunting than the creation of *Capital*, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and similar works.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 345-46.

## MORE ABOUT SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

It is now time to clear up the mystery of why a book on socialism should begin with a reference to the role of international relations. In Chapter I we mentioned that international relations of a new type, as a vehicle for the most advanced forms of social organisation, are becoming an unprecedented accelerator of social progress. One might go even further: in certain circumstances, they are the point of departure and the primary, even determining factor, in a turn towards socialist development for entire states, even though there may not yet be the necessary internal objective prerequisites in the countries, but only a revolutionary anti-imperialist enthusiasm which does not always take the form of vigorous anti-capitalism.

Traditional international relations did not play and could not play such a role, which can only be performed by the international relations produced by the October Revolution and consolidated through the formation and development of the world socialist system.

\* \* \*

The overwhelming part of international relations, both material and ideological, is realised (only passing through people's minds) in the policy of the ruling classes and parties of national states. That is why international relations normally have a political character. In the sphere of external relations, as nowhere else, the primacy of politics over economics and the initiating role of state in arranging economic and other relations are patently obvious.

International relations are social relations in the field of international and interstate intercourse. They operate there as a continuation and modification of internal social relations and, like the latter, may be divided socially into three types: (a) international relations of supremacy and subordination, (b) international relations of comradely co-operation and mutual assistance, (c) transitory international relations. All forms of international relations fall into these categories. The first two possess a qualitatively determined social characteristic and are stable, the third, as is apparent from its name, testifies to the demise of one formation and the emergence of another on a world scale. The first form was the only existing form before the Great October Socialist Revolution, the second appeared with the formation of the socialist system, and the third arose during the struggle between socialism and capitalism—the two opposed social and economic systems.

A. *International relations of domination and subordination* are a form of social relations typical of the pre-history of human society, not yet outmoded as long as capitalism prevails in a large part of the world.

When we talk of internal social relations of presocialist societies, we usually refer to relations of co-operation and mutual assistance in primitive communes and we strive to show the qualitatively higher character of co-operation and mutual assistance under socialism. This question does not arise when we analyse international relations—and here lies their uniqueness by comparison with internal relations. International relations of co-operation and mutual assistance simply could not exist before the appearance of the world socialist system. Even the primitive communes that had no internal antagonisms were often in a state of antagonistic struggle among themselves. With the appearance of class antagonisms the antagonism of nations began to be more marked. After the formation of the all-embracing system of capitalism, this antagonism was apparent in the imperialist dependence on a handful of "advanced" nations of the overwhelming majority of peoples who were backward in their social and economic development. There arose a diametrically opposed "world town" and "world village", which still exist today.

Two reasons exist for this phenomenon. *First*, there is a tendency in every exploiting state to extend the exploitation by which it subjects classes of working people within the country and which it extends to other peoples. The history of slave-owning and feudal society is replete with such attempts and temporary successes by the most dominant powers of the time. Why were these attempts at exploitation of other peoples only temporary? Because they normally did not have a firm basis of economic and, above all, foreign trade relations. Since a world-wide division of labour did not exist and the many local world markets which periodically appeared and disappeared turned out to be unstable, not one of the pre-capitalist social systems took the form of a world system. The world empires therefore, began to disintegrate almost as soon as they were founded.

This brings us to the *second* reason. Capitalism is the first social and economic formation whose main laws apply to all the social, both internal and international, relations, inasmuch as all of mankind changes from the organisation of its social life within the bounds of local societies and markets to its organisation on a world-wide scale in the form of world systems.

*The relations that were specific for the mutual relations of ruling and oppressed classes within societies, capitalism at its highest and last stage made obligatory also for international contacts.* Hundreds of millions of people in the colonies, the peoples of whole states were forced to become like the proletariat of the metropolitan countries and then found themselves in an even worse situation. The anti-imperialist striving for national liberation found its social affinity with the anti-capitalist struggle of the working class. A united front of the socialist and national-liberation movement was formed in the mainstream of world socialist revolution.

In the history of the international relations of world capitalism, there have been instances of a balance of power existing; for example, when the big imperialist powers did not tyrannise one another or when a large imperialist predator (for various adverse reasons) could not exploit a small neighbouring state or even was, for a time, interested in arranging equal and officially friendly relations. However,

the pull of exploiting states to relations of domination and subordination in international politics (which is directly determined by their essence) remained. In affirming the need for scientifically analysing this essence in order to determine the strategic direction of revolutionary struggle, Lenin thought it tactically important to study those systems of political relations of capitalist states which depended on a specific correlation of power and were formed during their competition and clash on a world-wide scale. The *first* of such systems directly expresses, so to say, the pure type of international relations of domination and subordination. This is "the relation of the oppressed nation to the oppressing".<sup>1</sup> The establishment of such a relationship is the ultimate (that may or may not be implemented) objective of the foreign policy of exploiting classes in any country. The fact that not every exploiting state achieves that aim is a sign not of it being peace-loving, but of weakness, the presence of stronger and more dangerous competitors, or the strong popular resistance. This system found its classical expression in colonialism which nowadays has mostly disappeared. The abolition of the remnants of colonialism and the battle against neo-colonialism today represent a gradual exclusion of relations of direct domination and subordination from international relations and are bound to undermine capitalist social relations throughout the world.

The *second* type of system of political relations of capitalist states is "the relation between two oppressing nations on account of the loot, its division, etc."<sup>2</sup> This tends also to be a relationship of domination and subordination which, for one reason or another, cannot yet be implemented and which ruling classes of hostile states usually effect through wars. These systems of relations were, in fact, realised in the First and (for the imperialist powers) Second World wars which began through attempts to redive the world by groups of states representing the interests of monopolies competing with one another. Speaking about this system of relations, Lenin said: "The struggle for colonies, for markets etc. (Rome and Carthage; Britain and Germany 1914-17).

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35 p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



As a general rule, a war of that kind is robbery on *both* sides; and the attitude of democracy (and socialism) to it comes under the rule: 'Two thieves are fighting, may they both perish'.<sup>1</sup>

Finally the *third* type of these systems is "the relation of a national state which does not oppress others to one which oppresses, to a particularly reactionary state".<sup>2</sup> Here we are dealing with a very changeable situation: "A *system* of nations with equal rights. This question is *much more complex*!!!!"<sup>3</sup>

In order to determine one's position in this third case, one should understand the whole complex of relationships between different countries. Lenin said: "Think over this!! Don't forget this!! We live not only in separate states, but also in a certain system of states; it is permissible for the anarchists to ignore this; we are not anarchists."<sup>4</sup> He continued: "No, no, we are not at all indifferent to the *Staatenbau*, to the *system* of states, to their *mutual relations*."<sup>5</sup> The latter, however, cannot be unchangeable since the balance of power is continually changing in the world.

The transfer of centres of the world revolutionary movement and the centres of world reaction every time lends a new form to the "system of equal nations". There is no place here for dogmatism in evaluation, or forgetting the Marxist principle of the concreteness of truth. Socialist states bear this in mind in their foreign policy in regard to independent states (both imperialist and non-imperialist) of the non-socialist world, endeavouring to implement a particular scientifically grounded, individually tailored approach. The Rapallo Treaty of 1922 between Germany and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic serves as an example of how favourable results can come from a foreign policy based on correct conceptions of this system of relations in the contemporary world.

In formulating the fundamentals of socialist foreign policy in 1917, Lenin pointed out: "The full realisation of our

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. 32, p. 273.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. 35, p. 274.

ideas depends solely on the overthrow of the entire capitalist system."<sup>1</sup> At the same time, one must bear in mind that over the greater part of the world and, also important, in the most technologically and economically advanced states, this overthrow took decades. A long period is, therefore, necessary for state-organised socialism to exist side by side with capitalism; a system of dynamic equal relations is necessary between nations, relations which are capable of at least partially paralysing the aggressive and exploiting strivings of imperialism and helping to form conditions of coexistence that are favourable to the new system.

B. *International relations of comradely co-operation and mutual assistance* of free peoples and peoples who are liberating themselves. They arise after the formation of the first non-exploiting state—the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia which transferred the principle of proletarian internationalism to the sphere of foreign policy in relation to fraternal states and to the working people of all countries. Their most important condition is to recognise and to put into practice the right of nations to self-determination up to and including secession and the formation of a separate state.

Lenin, explaining the socialist national and international policy in the early years of Soviet power, said: "We are told that Russia will disintegrate and split up into separate republics but we have no reason to fear this. We have nothing to fear, whatever the number of independent republics. The important thing for us is not where the state border runs, but whether or not the working people of all nations remain allied in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, irrespective of nationality."<sup>2</sup> The alliance of working people of different nationalities above all "is not based on treaties, but on the solidarity of the exploited against the exploiters".<sup>3</sup> "It is not the Great Power status of Russia that we are defending—of that nothing is left but Russia proper—nor is it national interests, for we assert that the interests of socialism, of world socialism are higher than

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



national interests, higher than the interests of the state."<sup>1</sup>

International relations of co-operation and mutual assistance are social relations of states that arose as a weapon of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle during the world socialist revolution. They constitute a wide class of international relations of a new type that differ from one another by the nature of the states participating in them and their degree of proximity to socialist social relations.

The *first* form of such relations, distinguished by its clearly expressed socialist character, prevailed between the independent Soviet republics; then, five years after the October Revolution, they united into the socialist federation—the Soviet Union. The voluntary democratic consolidation, first of four Soviet Socialist Republics—the Russian Federation, Byelorussia, the Transcaucasian Federation and the Ukraine—today includes fifteen socialist states and presupposes a centralised administration of the major branches of the economy and culture and in military, diplomatic and foreign trade spheres. Its basis is the division of labour, the single set of productive forces which developed in the years of Soviet power and the system of organic economic planning ties without which the economy of no republic could operate. The interrepublican relations increasingly lose the features of interstate relations and acquire those of interregional relations within the framework of a single state. They are the prototype of the international relations to which socialist states will come when they attach their national economy to a single world socialist (communist) co-operative. The relations of the Soviet republics which were previously international relations have gradually become internal relations.

The *second*, and main, form of international relations of co-operation and mutual assistance constitutes mutual relations of states within the framework of the world socialist system. By contrast with the first form these relations possess a much greater relative independence and cannot fully be identified with internal relations that prevail in each of the socialist states. Ignorance of this distinction and a mechanical projecting of the features of the internal

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 378.

social relations of socialism to external affairs run the risk of encroaching upon the sovereignty of individual socialist states (after all, international relations cannot be reduced to interregional relations), which is liable to produce serious complications in their co-operation. What is the substance of this distinction?

The basic economic and other laws of socialism operate differently in international economic relations between socialist states than inside each of them. Due to the obvious heterogeneity of the economic, social and cultural potential in different countries, it is too early to say that the world socialist economic system as a whole, like the economy of each socialist state, already operates to secure the all-round development of each individual. What may be a law for individual national economies at times is only *indirectly* manifest in the relations of sovereign states.

Moreover, the relative independence of international relations within the system is attributable to the fact that each socialist state plans its economy along the lines of profit-and-loss accounting and is, therefore, bound to consider also the commercial profit from international economic relations. Another factor it has to consider is that its partners in world trade are capitalist as well as socialist countries.

It may be that in some circumstances a socialist state may prefer a capitalist partner out of purely commercial consideration; this is understandable if one takes into consideration that the assortment and quality of commodities vary on the world socialist market, that price levels are different being determined by the differences in productivity levels and that the resources of individual states may be limited. This forcibly demonstrates the action of the laws of commodity production in the complex set of international economic relations. Here one sees also the ability of capitalism, having lost its opportunity directly to influence the internal social relations of the socialist states, for the time being to influence relations between them.

The socialist states must be guided in their external economic relations by the principle of *concerted action and priority of the fundamental interests of socialism over the interests of direct profit*. That does not mean that in every case they

must or they will turn down commercially advantageous deals with capitalist powers. After all, sometimes pacts with the class enemy, to which he is brought under pressure irrespective of his will by the prevailing—and, therefore, compelling—system of international economic relations, can speed up the building of socialism. We refer here to cases where contacts between socialist and capitalist states are not at variance with the interests of the community as a whole.

Finally, while the internal socialist social relations of each country are controlled and regulated mainly by the concentration of ownership of the principal means of production in the hands of the socialist state and by a planned development of all aspects of social life, control over international relations and their regulation does not fall within the confines of any special international agency, and does not have an economic basis similar to state or public ownership within each country. There is not yet any international socialist ownership as a predominant international economic relation. Nor is there common planning and management by all (or at least several) national economies from a single centre. The socialist states can only manage all the forms of their international relations in common, on the basis of equal co-operation as they co-ordinate their positions and overcome contradictions, through manifesting their many-sided national interests and by their "integration" into a single international whole—the socialist interest of peoples who have thrown off the yoke of capital. Hence, the special importance of sovereign relations between states and the need to recognise that *in content the international socialist process of transforming social life inevitably takes a nationally unique form*. Hence it is only by comparing and sensibly combining the experience of many socialist nations, which will last right up to the transition to complete communism, that we can obtain an idea of *integral socialism*.

Their deeply democratic content is a principal feature of the international relations of socialist states. While the interstate relations of societies that are antagonistic in any class sense are essentially relations of exploiting classes of various nations, minority classes whose interests inevitably differ from those of the common people, the mutual

relations of the socialist states, on the contrary, are relations of peoples represented by worker-peasant governments, *international* relations in the true sense of the word. When the socialist states begin to build classless societies, when they enhance the social uniformity of the population and they turn the proletarian dictatorship into socialist states of the entire people, they increase the degree of the *popular nature* of international relations of the new type and they encourage the socialist nations to draw together in an ever-increasing multiplicity of ways. When they overcome class differences, no matter what the social barriers and the old division of labour within the socialist states, there is no doubt that they will exert a great influence on their mutual relations.

The popular nature of the international relations of the fraternal socialist states testifies to the extent to which the nature of socialist co-operation and mutual assistance is alien to the relations of domination and subordination which are inherent in relations between an oppressed and an oppressor nation, the relations between two oppressor nations and the relations of a nation which is not oppressing other nations with an oppressor nation. The socialist nations which have put an end to the system of capitalist exploitation and are building social life on the principle of public ownership of the means of production, incorporate into their mutual relations only what exists in their internal relations.

This fact is ignored by anti-Communist ideologists who maliciously ascribe to the mutual contacts between socialist states the features of competitive antagonism which mark the international relations of capitalist states. They, thereby, fully divorce international from internal relations, taking the unscientific view that international relations can be diametrically opposed to internal relations. Such an approach tends to be propagandist and is unrelated to reality.

The *third* group of relations of co-operation and mutual assistance occurs among the socialist states (of the proletarian dictatorship or a state of the entire people) and states that have embarked upon a path of non-capitalist development (revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, people's democracy, national democra-

cy). An alliance is implemented through these relations between the peoples of the socialist states and the social forces representing the trend to socialist development in developing states. Due to the weakness in the latter states of the developed industrial proletariat, which alone is capable of leading the fight for socialism, and the temporary impossibility of establishing its dictatorship, only close international relations of the countries embarking upon non-capitalist development with the socialist states provide a guarantee of transition to socialism. If these relations are violated there is a danger of these peoples returning to the orbit of imperialist dependence and neo-colonialism. On the other hand, their maintenance and strengthening guarantee security from imperialist intrigues and the hegemony of the working class in the form of its main attainment—the world socialist system—where classes and social groups which are already fighting against capitalism have still not matured enough to build socialism on their own internal resources and experience.

International relations of this type (suffice it here to cite the example of the Mongolian People's Republic) can be decisive in determining the social structure of many developing states. It is true that these international relations still lag behind the mutual relations of socialist states in their degree of completion and "socialism". This is, however, a temporary phenomenon. The establishment of a new society in these countries ultimately produces a situation where their international relations will acquire all these traits of socialist international relations. During a visit to Egypt, the Soviet Premier A. N. Kosygin, noted that they had now "exceeded the bounds of simple peaceful coexistence and were relations of a new type permeated with the spirit of mutual trust and based on wide-scale co-operation in all spheres".<sup>1</sup>

The *fourth* category of international relations of co-operation and mutual assistance are the mutual relations between countries that have chosen the non-capitalist path. They differ from the third group in that socialist states are not directly present. These are relations of anti-imperialist and

<sup>1</sup> *Pravda*, May 12, 1966.

anti-capitalist forces which have not yet acquired a consistent socialist character. They may retain their qualities only if the young national states which maintain these relations have a consistent foreign policy orientated towards the world socialist system. Otherwise, it is possible that they may even turn into inimical relations or into another form of international relations of domination and subordination.

C. *Transitional international relations.* The new factor introduced into international politics after the October Revolution was that "the Bolsheviks are establishing completely different international relations which make it possible for all oppressed peoples to rid themselves of the imperialist yoke".<sup>1</sup> This applies to peoples striving to break free of capitalist slavery and to those which want to extricate themselves from imperialist dependence without yet abolishing the bourgeois system. Lenin wrote: "Our policy is grouping around the Soviet Republic those capitalist countries which are being strangled by imperialism."<sup>2</sup>

Socialist states establish with countries in the world capitalist system only relations in which there is no domination or subordination from either side, and strictly observe the principle of equal rights and the equality of big and small states. As long as capitalism still exists, they cannot turn all international relations into a sphere of co-operation and mutual assistance; however, the restriction of the possibility of one state exploiting another means a great deal. It testifies to the fact that internationally, too, a process has begun of extending socialist social relations and ousting capitalist relations.

International relations have a *transitional* character if, on the one hand, they involve peoples of socialist states which have already dispensed with relations of domination and subordination and, on the other, if they involve exploiting classes the relations of which have not yet turned into relations of co-operation and mutual assistance. These may be divided into several types.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 477-78.

*Firstly*, there are the relations between socialist and bourgeois anti-imperialist states, like those between the USSR and India. It is interesting that socialist internationalism and the progressive nationalism of liberating states meet in these relations. Despite all the differences between them, both the one and the other essentially find common ground as long as the anti-colonialist legacy continues. It was just such a coincidence that Lenin referred to when he appealed to Communists to base themselves "on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening, and must awaken, among those peoples, and which has its historical justification".<sup>1</sup> The historical justification for the nationalism of young states, which only yesterday were colonies, is a measure of the acceptance of elements of co-operation and mutual assistance in their relations with the socialist countries.

*Secondly*, the international relations of countries that have embarked upon non-capitalist development and of young anti-imperialist states developing on a capitalist basis belong to transitional relations. The latter sometimes have more in common with the former than with socialist states. Much is due to the common destinies and the tasks of anti-colonial struggle, their similar economic and social structures and their nationalist ideology.

At the same time, these relations are unstable: the two above-mentioned forms of state evolve internally in opposite directions. As the states that have chosen the non-capitalist variant of social progress develop into socialist states, their ties with bourgeois anti-imperialist states increasingly resemble the relations of the socialist states. Naturally, in the international relations of the states consistently moving along a non-capitalist path, socialist internationalism increasingly and directly comes into play. Nationalism fades away and thrives only in bourgeois states.

All these turns and changes, naturally, have many differences and interim stages; a new content may appear in international relations which is unexpectedly in the old form and, conversely cases occur where the old content is attired in new garb. The essence, however, remains the same.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162.

The socialist state is internationalist in its international policy. This is the objective of a state that is not yet socialist and no longer bourgeois, which is going through the transition from a private enterprise system to socialism. A contradiction arises which involves nationalism, a characteristic feature of the policy of bourgeois (non-imperialist) states. Co-operation and mutual assistance of the internationalist and nationalist forces continue until they oppose the common class enemy—monopoly capitalism.

*Thirdly*, the transitional groups must include relations between socialist and imperialist states. This is a sector of international relations in which there is no longer any domination or subordination by one state in respect of another, yet there cannot be comradesly co-operation and mutual assistance.

From the early days of its existence every state of proletarian dictatorship has to arrange its relations with the capitalist world on a completely new and unprecedented social basis. The former antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat based on domination and subordination is now, for the first time, replaced by a class antagonism without domination and subordination, insofar as the proletariat, being the ruling class, stands opposed to the bourgeoisie *from a position of equality*.

Whether it likes it or not, the bourgeoisie cannot deal with the victorious working class of a socialist state as it would with its own proletariat, that is, it cannot exploit them. In turn, the ruling proletariat, whose exploiting elements disappeared in its own country, cannot deal with the foreign bourgeoisie as it would with a bourgeoisie to which it sold its labour power. This is a remarkable success for socialism in international relations, although some time has to pass before it can establish direct relations of comradesly co-operation and mutual assistance with the peoples of the capitalist states. This is impossible without an alteration within the latter of the nature of political power.

As the world socialist system develops, the state-organised proletariat, although it cannot abolish relations of domination and subordination inside capitalist states, nonetheless, vigorously excludes exploitation from interna-

tional relations. Once it has obtained economic and political independence, it can gain equal and mutually profitable, businesslike co-operation with bourgeois states. In relations between capitalism and socialism, therefore, a situation arises which has been expressed in the Leninist conception of peaceful coexistence as a special condition of the class struggle transposed to interstate contacts.

*Fourthly*, relations between imperialist states and those that are on their way to socialism, bypassing capitalism, are also transitional. They are similar to the third type. Imperialism here is also unable to impose its domination upon them. At the same time, the countries building a new life on a non-capitalist basis are themselves unable entirely to determine the climate of these relations. Even if they rely on the support of the world socialist system, they are unable, until the demise of capitalism in a large part of the world, to reconstruct international relations even according to the type of those created within such countries.

Such is the sum total of present-day international relations, a complete understanding of which is essential to understand the scientific conception of socialism, a vital condition for a successful foreign policy and a prerequisite for its scientific organisation.

\* \* \*

We return to the issue of international relations because even a brief description of the structural types of emergent socialism would be incomplete without particular "pre-socialist" societies which have proclaimed non-capitalist development from pre-capitalist and even from pre-antagonistic social and economic systems.

Many ex-colonies in Asia and Africa have found themselves in a contradictory situation. Their internal social conditions had lagged for centuries behind the possibility of global relations and the requirements for world contacts; the penetration—thanks to modern communications of all manner of influences—finds virgin and receptive soil; the best minds of the peoples, which only recently were stirred to historical creativity, understandably are choosing socialism.

The conditions for attaining this goal are not simple. These countries do not have the elementary objective prerequisites for socialism, namely large-scale machine production and a proletariat—the prime mover of socialist revolution—is experiencing a period of class emergence. Nonetheless, socialist projects cannot simply be labelled here utopian: thanks to the ramified and intensive international relations in the present-day world, they have the chance to compensate for their lack of essential conditions for rapid progress if they pursue a consistent foreign policy, a policy in external trade, a scientific and technological, ideological and cultural policy orientated towards the world socialist system.

We may recall the exchange of opinion between Marx and Engels and the Russian Narodniks in the 1870s and 1880s. The latter believed that the Russian village commune which had retained the features of primitive collectivism and had not yet fallen into decay (according to our formula:  $I-C-C$ ) represented a unique opportunity as the future cell of socialism. Marx and Engels replied to the Narodniks that by itself the commune was doomed to failure when a rapid development of commodity-money and private-enterprise relations occurred. It could only facilitate the transition to forms of socialist organisation if the Russian revolution would follow socialist revolution in the West and would be actively supported by it. Even before the spread of Marxism to Russia, Nikolai Chernyshevsky, one of the best minds among Russian revolutionary democrats, came close to this view.

In his famous tract, *To a Critique of Philosophical Conventions Against Commune Property* (1858), he wrote that "we have no right to regard communal land ownership as a special immanent feature of our nationality; we should look at it as the common human appertenance of a certain period in the life of each people. We should also not be proud of the maintenance of this vestige of primitive antiquity, just as no one should boast of any existing antique form because the maintenance of antiquity testifies merely to the sloth of historical development. The maintenance of the commune in land relations which has disappeared elsewhere only goes to show that we have lived far less than other

peoples. So we have nothing to boast about before other peoples in this respect".<sup>1</sup>

In what way did "the father of Russian socialism" (as Plekhanov called Chernyshevsky) hope to imbue this form "of relations which are close to patriarchal life",<sup>2</sup> with new life and a socialist (or communist) content?

He makes it clear in the same tract that he sees the resolution of this task not within the commune itself but in certain other factors. According to the dialectical law of negation of the negation, the private form of ownership, which in European states more advanced than nineteenth-century Russia (before the Reform of Serfdom in 1861) was squeezing out the old commune, had, in turn, to be replaced by common ownership of the means of production—which was similar to that antiquated form.<sup>3</sup>

Did that mean that it was necessary to wait for the universal establishment of private property? Chernyshevsky answered in the affirmative: this path was obligatory and reliable, but in order to implement it a long journey had to be made which many countries had already left behind. In that case, should a people which finds itself at a relatively low stage of social and economic development introduce all the social institutions which a more advanced civilisation had created and which it had then rejected? Should it not take advantage of the opportunity directly to begin by introducing its best attainments?

Chernyshevsky writes that "Hegel was right when he said that average logical aspects more often do not obtain an objective form of life, remaining merely logical aspects. Suffice it to say that a certain average factor materialised somewhere and at some time, the process of development avoids the need to be realised in all other places and times".<sup>4</sup> As an example from social history, Chernyshevsky refers to the New Zealanders "to whom the British played nanny",

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Chernyshevsky, *Selected Philosophical Works*, Moscow, 1938, pp. 168-69 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Here Chernyshevsky's views coincide with those of Engels in Chapter XIII of *Anti-Dühring*. See F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 155-70.

<sup>4</sup> N. G. Chernyshevsky, op. cit., p. 193.

and who, because of this circumstance, did not require the hundreds of years spent by Great Britain in creating a system of free trade and enlivening industrial activity. This is borne out by the saying: "History, like a grandmother, likes its little grandchildren".<sup>1</sup>

Chernyshevsky's conclusions are:

"1. When a certain social phenomenon in a certain nation has reached a high stage of development, its journey to that stage in another backward nation may take less time than it took in the advanced nation....

"2. This acceleration occurs through the drawing together of the backward and advanced nations....

"3. This acceleration consists in the fact that with the backward nation the development of a certain social phenomenon, thanks to the impact of an advanced nation, passes directly from a lower stage to a higher, bypassing the middle stages....

"4. With such an accelerated course of development, the middle stages left out by a formerly backward nation, utilising the experience and the knowledge of the advanced nation, attain only a theoretical form as logical aspects which are not implemented....

"5. If these middle stages are also actually implemented, they may be only of insignificant size in relation to the importance of practical life."<sup>2</sup>

Thirty-five years later, Engels was to write respectfully of the "great thinker". Because of the censorship barrier separating Russia from Western Europe, Chernyshevsky had not read any of Marx's works; however, Engels declared "if we do find a weak spot in his writings here and there, and some narrowness of horizon, the amazing thing is that there is not much more of it."<sup>3</sup>

Engels writes further that "all the tribal community forms arising before the emergence of commodity production and private exchange have only this in common with the future socialist society, that certain things, the means of production, are held as communal property and are in common use by certain groups. But this common feature alone does not

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Chernyshevsky, *Selected Philosophical Works*, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 194-95.

<sup>3</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 400.

yet enable the lower social form to grow into a future socialist society, that final product of capitalist society which it itself begets.... However, it is not only possible but inescapable that once the proletariat wins out and the means of production pass into common ownership among the West European nations, the countries which have just managed to make a start on capitalist production, and where tribal institutions or relics of them are still intact, will be able to use these relics of communal ownership and the corresponding popular customs as a powerful means of considerably shortening their advance to socialist society and largely sparing themselves the sufferings and the struggles through which we in Western Europe have to make our way. But an inevitable condition of this is the example and active support of the hitherto capitalist West. And this applies not only to Russia but to all countries at the pre-capitalist stage of development".<sup>1</sup>

Here specifically and convincingly is propounded what Chernyshevsky had formulated in a philosophically abstract form largely on an intuitive level. One can only be amazed at the similarity of the trend in thought. Plekhanov was, therefore, not entirely just when, referring to Chernyshevsky's treatment of the question of the state of the commune, he called it "purely algebraic" and thought its shortcoming was that the overall result of his idea "was equally applicable to all countries and peoples which had retained communal land ownership...."<sup>2</sup>

Chernyshevsky's analysis for Russia was, naturally, inadequate, especially in that he regarded the proletarianisation of the working population (which was intensively occurring at that time in the West) as a negative development; he did not realise that this was what created the social force which alone could spread the principle of communal ownership throughout society—which attracted him so much.

Chernyshevsky was a utopian socialist of a peasant persuasion, yet he stood head and shoulders above all other utopian socialists in Russia. He was not afraid of turning to

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> G. V. Plekhanov, *Socialism and Political Struggle. Our Differences*, Moscow, 1939, pp. 100, 101 (in Russian).

advanced foreign experience which, the fate of a revolutionary having formed differently, invariably led to proletarian scientific socialism, to Marxism and to the First International—as had happened in the last years of Alexander Herzen. It would be wrong to seek in his works signs of a Narodnik reactionary-utopian idealisation of the Russian commune: although Chernyshevsky could not take a proletarian and internationalist position, he was, at any rate, an enemy of national exclusiveness. In his view the commune could only play a progressive part in connection with what he loosely defined as progressive changes in countries that were more advanced than Russia.

Why should one not pay homage to the clarity of vision of a Russian socialist who was very close in his outlook to present-day revolutionary democrats who are leading some nations to socialism from pre-capitalist stages of development?

It was patently obvious by the end of the nineteenth century that the possibility of which Marx, Engels and Chernyshevsky had written would not be realised in Russia. The intensive development of capitalism brought Russia increasingly closer to the West in her conditions for a future socialist revolution; the transfer to her of the centre of the world revolutionary movement, moreover, made the socialist revolution in Russia a prologue for socialist revolution in other countries.

Meanwhile, because the possibility had not been realised in Russia, that did not mean that it had generally ceased to exist. On the contrary, thanks to the October and other socialist revolutions, it gained credence and became a real probability for a whole number of countries which had been held back by imperialism for decades in their own capitalist development.

The idea put forward by Marx and Engels that the democratic and proletarian revolutions would "mutually supplement" one another<sup>1</sup> received further development in the Leninist theory of non-capitalist development.

Such countries have the following characteristic economic structures:

<sup>1</sup> Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 19, S. 296.



*I—I—I*—a petty-commodity system permeating agriculture and embracing artisan production;

*I—C—C*—a patriarchal-collectivist structure (commune), and nowadays predominating, for example, in the African countryside;

*I—C—I*—a private capitalist structure mainly at the pre-machine and manufacturing stage.

The implementation of wide-ranging nationalisation of the means of production which used to belong to foreign and domestic capitalists, and the co-operation of peasants in such countries as Algeria, Egypt, Burma and Syria provides a comparatively small sector *C—C—C*. One should also remember that in most of these countries the industrial worker stratum is still very small. All that is so far insufficient to guarantee stable socialist development. Therefore, countries that take the non-capitalist path are not completely guaranteed against the restoration of private-capitalist trends and counter-revolutionary putsches.

Furthermore, the insufficiency of *C—C—C* as a guarantee of socialist development may for the time being be compensated by international relations (*IR*) with the world socialist community. The socialist "ferment" in these societies may be designated as *C—C—C—(IR)*.

The transition of colonies and semi-colonies to the dictatorship of the proletariat, according to the Programme of the Communist International, "will be possible only through a series of preparatory stages, as the outcome of a whole period of transformation of bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution, while in the majority of cases, successful socialist construction will be possible only if direct support is obtained from the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established". In still more backward countries (as in some parts of Africa), a national uprising and its victory may "open the way for their direct development towards socialism and their avoiding the stage of capitalism, provided real, powerful assistance is rendered to them by the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Programme of the Communist International*, Modern Books Ltd., London, 1929, pp. 40, 41.

Now we can understand why any violation or break in the above-mentioned relations is fraught with the danger of disrupting the entire socialist programme of a revolutionary regime; we appreciate why, with the aid of international relations of a new type integrated with developing progressive internal structures, a new form of society takes shape that is not yet socialist but which no longer qualifies as a capitalist or private enterprise society. It is moving in the direction of the world socialist system and has every prospect of joining it in the future, yet it cannot be categorically ascribed to the socialist system today.

We now have the following formulae:

*I*  
 $\diagup$  *C—C—(IR)*,  
 $\diagdown$

*C*  
*I—C—Co*,  
*I—C—I*,  
*I—I—I*,

*I—C—C*—which is a sign not only of the weakness of productive forces (where manual labour prevails everywhere), but also a mosaic form of the social and economic system of countries that are taking the non-capitalist path, and the need for immense effort to attain the objective of building socialism.<sup>1</sup>

Here also lies the justification for the need for centralised government and administration and the exceptional role of politics until the socialist economy has been formed. This is one aspect of dialectical unity, the other being the need to activate conscious popular participation in implementing progressive programmes.

The experience of anti-imperialist revolutions which have acquired an anti-capitalist meaning has shown that the most honest motivations of personally convinced and sometimes heroic fighters for socialism can lead them to defeat

<sup>1</sup> "...An enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces; it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small-scale production; it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.)



and senseless sacrifice if they rely on a policy drawn up by a small group or Blanquist conspiratorial methods. They are doomed to failure if they do not conduct persistent and systematic work in turning the ideas and aspirations of what is usually a small vanguard of revolutionaries into the ideas and aspirations of the people as a whole.

Where revolutionary democrats who are sincerely interested in the socialist future of their peoples do not take care to see that the common people understand and give them their support, imperialism very often takes its revenge. For them, as for all other social forces which seriously proclaim socialist aims, the Leninist rule must not be forgotten: "Capitalism cannot be vanquished without *taking over the banks*, without repealing *private ownership* of the means of production. These revolutionary measures, however, cannot be implemented without organising the entire people for democratic administration of the means of production captured from the bourgeoisie, without enlisting the entire mass of the working people, the proletarians, semi-proletarians and small peasants, for the democratic organisation of their ranks, their forces, their participation in state affairs."<sup>1</sup>

We have already mentioned the common features of socialist states and their principal characteristics. The model of socialism for all socialist states is an ideal type of state which is industrially and culturally highly developed, has common ownership of the means of production and a social-ly uniform population. This is the socialist state in a full-scale version which Lenin identified with the beginning of the higher phase of communism. The problems which face countries in the world socialist system should be distinguished from the problems confronting the young developing states for which the socialist prospects are not rigidly fixed.

In recent years a lively discussion has graced the pages of newspapers on forms of transition to the new system, on the types and models of socialism. Unfortunately, the discussants have often failed to fulfil the major condition of debate—they have not agreed on premises and principles. Some people interpret socialism as a national and specific historical form; others, take the form of socialism to mean the initial stage in the search for a prototype of socialist societies.

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 25.

The "socialist model" concept has not had a happy time. It has been demagogically bandied about by revisionists so as to denigrate socialist construction in fraternal countries. Attempts to prove the multiplicity of "socialisms", under the pretext of "model-making", have objectively undermined the positions of *scientific* socialism and are bound to be condemned by Communists.

A certain contradiction has arisen: *either* to have the only scientific model of socialism, as postulated in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and in the documents of the international communist movement, *or* to have a multiplicity of "models" arbitrarily constructed by opportunists. If we are dealing with the present state of the problem, we have to say that this duality has a reasonably firm basis. In evaluating and condemning revisionist attacks on the theory of socialist society, however, it is important not to restrict the area of research.

There is only one scientific model of socialism if we take it as a completed integral social system which has fully developed its possibilities and already stands at the threshold of communism. This for the time being is our goal.

On the other hand, a chain of societies exists representing *stages* in realising the given model. They may be expressed as various structural types or models, but they are not socialism as such in its finished form, but a socialism developing from the lower forms of its social organisation to higher forms, being constructed in more or less accordance with the demands of objective laws. An inability or, rather, an unwillingness to make a clear distinction between them both is a characteristic feature of the revisionist view of Roger Garaudy (author of *Pour un modele français du socialisme*, Gallimard, 1968); his book claims to be something new in Marxism, but a critical analysis shows that Garaudy strips Marxism of action.

As the Soviet writer H. Momjan has rightly said a "critical attitude to the conception of many socialist models by no means refutes the correctness of applying a scientific model to a study of social phenomena. Furthermore, not every use of the term 'socialist model' is associated with a perversion of Marxist-Leninist theory. Very often it means a statement of various forms of socialist construction or some of its specific

features in these countries. In that case, one may refer only to the extent to which it is expedient to arm oneself with terminology which, through the efforts of revisionists, has taken an anti-Marxist tack and may engender confusion. Marxist theory has elaborated clear-cut and precise concepts and categories for designating the dialectics of all that is general, specific and unique in socialist development. But it is not a dispute over words. The greatest objection is to the deeply erroneous attempts by some theoreticians to construct models of socialist society which are basically at odds with a genuinely scientific interpretation of socialism."<sup>1</sup>

Emasculation of the conceptions of a really scientific model of socialism is used by its enemies for politically disorientating the working people. An acute, uncompromising and systematic battle is needed against this. However, it does not follow that one should refuse to extract and study the various structural types of emergent socialism. A lack of such research hampers the resolution of tasks in *scientifically forecasting the development* of socialist society and the adoption and implementation of sound solutions on a national and international scale.

It is vitally necessary as well as desirable that the number of such investigations should grow, that their influence on the management of socialist and communist construction should increase, that they should influence the course of the construction itself. They have a truly historic role in consciously selecting the most suitable forms and methods of transition from the pre-history of human society to its genuine history.

The reader having come thus far may object that he has obtained only a rough outline. But there are different kinds of outlines. A scientific outline enables us to elaborate a mature world outlook. It is true that this may not happen quickly but there are no grounds for despair. Knowledge should not degenerate into a cachectic erudition with which one might excel without applying it to something.

The reader may recall that at the beginning of the book, the author stated his aim of helping him *to learn consciously*

<sup>1</sup> *Kommunist*, No. 2, 1970, p. 62.

*how to choose* out of all the truths obtained by mankind primarily those that possess a definite meaning in social life. With the correct approach, the choice from the outset will, probably, fall on the need for progress, and that today has a single direction, namely the transition to socialism with which, incidentally, the realm of freedom commences.

A genuine friend of freedom, by contrast to a whole mass of those who like to sell it piecemeal, selects the socialist alternative of social development, thereby demonstrating both the really free meaning of his choice and a complete understanding of the need for such a choice, and his interest in the social liberation of mankind and a responsible attitude to the condition of mankind. Such a choice may seem extremely harsh and unacceptable to a person who would like to be "free" to apply his mind not only to scientific benefit, but also to delusion, to make one step forwards and two steps backwards, to defend reason and at the same time to encourage unreason....

What does such a "freedom", that may be attractive to a particular individual, have in common with social freedom? Does not society have to pay dearly for the whim of someone irresponsibly to proclaim his principle of "free expression" and demanding from society that it did not ask him in what that "freedom" is expressed? Can a person really believe himself free if he even completely voluntarily intends to move back towards spiritual and social slavery?

Before the October Revolution, the optimum plan for free activity was determined by how close a person came to accepting the interests of the working class which stood in the foreground of the present epoch, whether he accepted them as his own, whether he shared the political doctrine of scientific socialism and whether he was ready for selfless organised struggle in order to put it into practice. This was the social and political "system of co-ordinates" in which the fighter for freedom had to view his environment; these were the "forms of contemplation" of the world. This implied the class proletarian approach to social life.

What has changed today? First of all, the fact that by the many years of effort of tens of millions of working people, the scientifically substantiated socialist ideal has been embodied in a real live socialist society. The interests of the

working class have been transformed, in a revolutionary way, into social relations and institutions corresponding to it which have their own laws of operation and development. *It has become possible to judge human designs and deeds by the measure of socialist social relations and institutions.* Their principles and standards have ultimately become fundamental and determining. Meanwhile, the content of the class approach has also altered.

The class proletarian ideology and psychology are usually being formed without direct contact with the class enemy in a society today where the foundations for the realm of freedom are being laid and where social and national antagonisms are disappearing. New generations of Soviet people have not experienced exploitation and have not encountered landowners, capitalists, bankers and wealthy peasants. Even about fascism young people know mainly through films and books. Because the main front of class struggle has moved beyond the bounds of socialist society, some people may think that a lull in the battle has occurred and do not keenly feel the tension of class battles. The bourgeoisie greatly counts on socialist workers forgetting the specific notion of these battles; nothing causes the bourgeoisie greater pleasure than for us to lower our guard.

We all know how the bourgeoisie encourages an unhealthy tendency to defame the heroes of the revolutionary past and the truly heroic present, to denigrate Soviet people, their labour and struggle, and to reappraise whole periods in our history and the role in them of outstanding individuals. Whatever their motivation, we are faced with a move to undermine the spiritual and class-political continuity of generations and to prepare the way for alien influences.

An obvious example of this was the action of the Right-wing, anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia which tried to discredit the Communist Party, its heroes and prominent figures, to impose on young people nationalist politicians as their spiritual mentors and to lead them into an impasse of opposition to the socialist system.

The political and philosophical socialisation of young people is not satisfactory if they do not acquire the fundamentals of a scientific criticism of capitalism, if they are quite uncertain about the structure of socialist society and

the laws of its activity and improvement, and if they are not able convincingly to explain its superiority over any private enterprise system.

Young people can only understand socialism as a system of the most reasonable and humane social relations by means of education and through their own practical experience, above all by participating in public work.

One of the ploys of present-day imperialist propaganda is to impose upon us the so-called "dispute of equal": that is to say that the forces of good and evil clash in capitalist society and that such a rivalry exists under socialism too, that the world has always been divided into good and bad people. The new generation of builders of communism oppose this masked preaching of an apolitical attitude, an attempt to gloss over the diametrically opposed nature of the two social systems, by their mature ability to evaluate social phenomena applying socialist, Marxist-Leninist criteria *through the prism of socialism as an embodiment of the interests of the working class and all working people.* This is a party and class approach which should be sensibly used by every Soviet person. This is a world outlook through *the prism of the values of freedom that is being confirmed in practice.*

The bourgeoisie frequently include today in their arsenal of anti-socialist weapons a criticism of practical socialism from the point of view of ... socialist ideal. They live parasitically on the fact that in one degree or another there is always a non-coincidence, a gap which exists between the ideal, the forecast, the aim or the plan and their empirical implementation.

The idea of socialism is extremely popular in the world today. Our enemies cling to this idea because they do not want to lose their grip on the people. Lenin wrote in 1915: "Socialism" in general, as an aim, as the opposite of capitalism (or imperialism), is accepted now not only by the Kautsky crowd and social-chauvinists, but by many bourgeois social politicians. However, it is no longer a matter of contrasting two social systems, but of formulating the concrete aim of the concrete 'revolutionary mass struggle' against a concrete evil."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 153-54.

To sum up, the forces of socialism and progress regard capitalism and its imperialist policy as the major evil in the world today, while the forces of reaction regard as evil the growing pains of socialism or temporary deficiencies in its social organisation, trying surreptitiously to apply this description to the whole system. In other words, *our class enemies counterpose their own normative, demagogically exacting and, ultimately restorative, approach to a revolutionary attitude to contemporary events*. That is why they enjoy arguing over various subjective socialist models which violate the integral scientific notion of the new society.

The experience of the Czechoslovak events of 1968 shows particularly convincingly *what a responsible or irresponsible attitude to preaching a true conception of socialism means for the cause of freedom*. In the magazine *Literární listy*, Jiří Sláma "unfolded pluralistic socialism"; he proposed replacing the socialist economy by a mixed economy which would include wide-ranging entrepreneurial initiative from private owners. He openly counterposed this point of view to what he called the Monist Marxist-Leninist idea of the socialist economy "as a single large factory"; he favoured competition between different political forces for power.<sup>1</sup>

For their part, the authors of the document "On the Eve of Decision-Making" (referring to the new Czechoslovak model of socialism), published in July 1968, were against what they call an "industrialisation model", thereby *artificially separating and counterposing socialisation and industrialisation*. These people seem to have forgotten that mature socialism cannot be built otherwise than through industrial development which is associated with wide-scale application of up-to-date technology. Flirting with Western critics of socialism, they maintained that it would be wrong to try to add a democratic and humanistic gilding to "the industrialisation model" from outside without changing its basis. It is not hard to guess to what this change in the basis would lead in view of the "microcult" around the economist Ota Šik who had proclaimed a slightly modernised "co-operative socialism" à la Dühring.

Misunderstanding about the essence and paths of devel-

<sup>1</sup> *Literární listy*, 1968, No. 17.

opment of socialism, encouraged by the powerful apparatus of mass media, has resulted in an erosion of class and internationalist awareness among substantial sections of the population. Certain groups have succumbed to radio and television hypnosis and have lost a clear understanding both of social necessity and of their own actual interests. Millions of people are convinced from this negative experience that *without mastering a scientific understanding of socialism they cannot appreciate the political outlook of an emancipated free person; this obviously implies a socially conscious, rational and responsible direction of their activity*.

*Geographical discoveries  
Do not take shape as gradually  
As historical events.*

*Oh, those myths, the reefs and foaming waters!*

*America  
As such  
Was understood much later  
Than Columbus dreamed,  
When he by chance did come upon  
That shore and cried: "'Tis India!"*

*The face of the Great French  
Bourgeois Revolution became clear  
In retrospect, after  
Decades of heated, incoherent  
Disputes, conducted by swords on battlefields.*

*And only we  
Do see things clearly now.  
We will not tolerate blank spaces  
Upon the map of history  
Whose motley meaning is distinct and clear to us.<sup>1</sup>*

It is to be hoped that after reading this book young students of Marxism will say the last verse with greater conviction.

<sup>1</sup> L. Martynov, *People's Names*, Moscow, 1969, p. 150.

## REQUEST TO READERS

*Progress Publishers would be glad to have your opinion of this book, its translation and design and any suggestions you may have for future publications.*

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